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JULY 16, 1963

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

I was kidnaped by De Gaulle...

COLONEL ANTOINE ARGOUD'S OWN STORY

The Supreme Court: Saving Our Children from God

L. BRENT BOZELL

Also In This Issue:

MEYER BLASTS JFK ◆ BURNHAM ON HOW TO EXPLOIT THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT ◆ INSIDE WASHINGTON WITH CATO ◆ & A HILARIOUS LOOK AT SALINGER BY W. H. VON DREELE

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS

James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall,
Frank S. Meyer, William F. Rickenbacker
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
PRODUCTION: Martha Butler, Arlene Croce
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

ASSOCIATES

Frank Chodorov, D. G. M. Coxe,
Morrie Ryskind, Timothy J. Wheeler

CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. Batchelor, Colm Brogan, John Chamberlain,
John Abbot Clark, Peter Crumpet, Guy Davenport, A. Derso,
Joan Didion, M. Stanton Evans, Finis Farr, David Franke,
J. D. Futch, Aloise B. Heath, Will Herberg, Hugh Kenner,
James Jackson Kilpatrick, John D. Kreuttner,
Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn, J. B. Matthews,
Vincent Miller, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer,
Kenneth Shorey, Ralph de Toledano,
W. H. von Dreele, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen,
Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

ART DIRECTOR: James W. O'Bryan
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Robert J. White
PROMOTION MANAGER: Patrick J. Gorman
ADVERTISING MANAGER: Michael M. Mooney

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In This Issue . . .

➔ Colonel **Argoud**, head of the OAS after the capture of General Salan, writes about what happened to him during the dramatic few hours last winter between being dragged out of his hotel in Munich, and being found by the French police, trussed up in a Reynaud truck just outside of Notre Dame. It is an important story, quite apart from one's feelings about Colonel Argoud—and our own are mixed: there is no doubting his personal valor and patriotism; yet there is every reason to doubt his judgment, the terrible lengths to which his posthumous fixation on Algeria drove him and the OAS terrorists. But the style and ruthlessness of de Gaulle's kidnaping, and the ignominious efforts to conceal his government's part in it, tell us things we'd as soon we hadn't known about *le grand Charles*. Read it. You needn't weep for Argoud—unless you think of him as the last humiliated emblem of an officer class whose penultimate political act was to bring in de Gaulle to the French presidency; and whose last act was to immolate itself in his behalf.

➔ **Brent Bozell** writes with scholarship, with polish, and with scorn, about the Supreme Court's pathetic attempt to lend historical, legal, or logical dignity to its fanatical decision outlawing prayer in the public schools. . . . The question is often asked: How can we, concretely, exacerbate whatever are the tensions that now exist between the Soviet Union and Communist China? **James Burnham,** Secretary of State for NATIONAL REVIEW, explains how; while **Frank Meyer,** Keeper of the Tablets, comments, with justified exasperation, on the recent address by JFK at American University, which if he believes what he said, commits him never to understand how to defend ourselves in the Cold War, let alone win it. . . . **William Buckley** warns of the consequences of accusing Goldwater of leading the Republican Party into lily-whiteness: careful, or that's the kind of thing that could happen. . . . In the editorial section, the editors publish a report on the events in San Francisco, where the Goldwater forces took conclusive control. And elsewhere they analyze the strategy of the anti-Goldwater forces—which centers on the notion that the radical Right has taken hold of the GOP and must, at all cost, be routed.

➔ **Russell Kirk** reviews the difficulties of teaching Communism in the schools, and then in the book section deals with three excellent books that describe the shortcomings of progressive education and the teacher qualification system. Mr. Kirk especially recommends the report by the witty Mr. Martin Mayer, *Where, When, and Why: Social Studies in American Schools*. The Duke of Mecosta, by the way, leaves soon for Europe, where he will join Thomas Molnar and travel around Africa. But he will not miss a deadline. . . . **Theodore Sturgeon** pays his most eloquent respects (and whose are more so?) to Harry Martinson's *Aniara*. . . . **George Fielding Eliot** reviews three books on the French Army. . . . and **W. H. von Dreele** explains why he has a *thing* about whales. ➔

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This man has had some mighty close shaves in his lifetime

See John Wayne in "McLintock!" to be released in the Fall.

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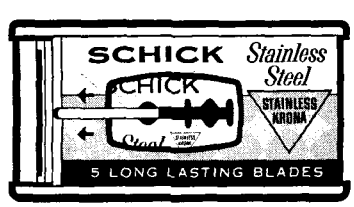

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The WEEK

● Hup, tup, thrrrrip, haw, and gorblimey if it ain't ole George Romney foot-slogging it through Grosse Pointe, Michigan, the very fancy residential enclave of Detroit's top auto executives, at the head of one thousand genuine, living, breathing demonstrators (civil rights). But alas, the hapless Governor picked a sad day for the parade, publicity-wise, and his Great Moral Crusade got reported way back in Thessalonians, or near the shipping news. Anyway, it was a bit of outdoor exercise for the former head of American Motors and his line of demonstrators, even though some of the brass in Grosse Pointe thought it pretty early to be introducing the '64 models.

● The Atomic Energy Commission disclosed on June 30 that there's evidence the Soviet Union has been conducting small nuclear tests in the atmosphere since mid-June. But, says the AEC, the evidence isn't conclusive. Well, what evidence *is* conclusive, other than Thoreau's fish in the milk? So the U.S. waits for more evidence, and while we wait we do not further our own work on nuclear weapons—because Mr. Kennedy said, on June 10, we wouldn't. That was nice of Mr. Kennedy, but the military defense of the U.S. cannot be founded on Presidential promises to believe in the good faith of the enemy. It is not for us to prove that Moscow is arming itself, but for Moscow to prove that it isn't. In the absence of that proof, the correct and prudent course is for the United States to go right ahead and arm itself to the teeth. To pluck the flower of peace we cannot stoop; we must rise, miles high, over the vast deserts of Nevada.

● In the last reporting week in June the U.S. gold reserve dropped by $65 million. The forces that are pushing the U.S. towards a monetary collapse remain unchanged, but a new element has made its appearance. To wit, the cat is out of the bag. For two years or more the U.S. has relied on European central banks to cover up the effects of monetary irresponsibility in Washington, and for two years the European bankers have kept a tactful silence while the Administration proclaimed the "basic soundness" of the dollar and the great promise of a "new era" of "international cooperation." No more. While in Europe, President Kennedy more or less openly discussed the problem of the U.S. dollar, and plainly heard the reluctance of European bankers to continue to support his extravagance. The season for charity and gimmicks is coming to a close; Europe will soon insist that the United States put its house in order. Mr. Kennedy could start with three steps that would have immediate curative effect: reduce foreign aid, cut the federal deficit, and let interest rates rise.

● The Democratic Party stands for the little people, except maybe the Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee who recently, one and all, voted to cancel the income tax deduction for several state and local taxes (sales, gasoline, auto registration, etc.). This is double taxation, whose burden falls precisely on the little people—who will end up by being an expected half a billion dollars poorer for it.

● For every Hatfield there's a McCoy, and for Governor Mark Hatfield of Oregon the varmint is anyone who wants the GOP to move to the right. Speaking at the Young Republicans National Federation convention on June 26, Governor Hatfield tried to dry-gulch the conservative forces by comparing the "Radical Right" with the "Lunatic Left," apparently under the delusion that the American voter is tickled pink at the choice between a Liberal (D., Mass.) and a Liberal (R., anywhere, definitely not excluding Ore.).

● Did you know that more than half the United States is a depressed area? The bureaucrats who ladle out federal funds under the Area Redevelopment Act say so, and are prepared to lend lots of money at interest rates lower than those paid by the Federal Government itself to just about anyone in that disadvantaged majority of the country (particularly if he wants to build a motel—the ARA just *loves* motels). The ARA doesn't discriminate on grounds of race, religion, national origin or ability to repay, but does show a distinct preference for areas represented by Democrats. It was thus no surprise when the Senate approved a bill increasing ARA's handout capacity (previously rejected by the House). Senator Case (R., N.J.) inserted an amendment that should guarantee passage of ARA in the House next time around: no longer will a company be able to qualify for ARA doles by closing a plant in one area and moving to an ARA-approved county.

● From an article in the *Crimson-White,* the student newspaper at the University of Alabama: "With our nation on the brink of racial violence, there is a firm need for a solution which will not only meet the demands of the Negro, but will also make him meet the demands of society. . . . There must be some more positive way of achieving first-class citizenship, a

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way without violence or protests. I think there is. . . . It is my firm belief that through the process of education the sit-ins and swim-ins will be unnecessary. There must be more time spent in the classrooms and less time wasted on picket lines." The writer of those sentences is James A. Hood, a twenty-year-old from East Gadsden, Alabama. Anyone who thinks what Mr. Hood says is important, or correct, only on account of his being the first Negro male student at the University of Alabama, has got his wires crossed.

● U Thant, pursued by reports that some ladies of light repute have adopted piece-making operations in the UN as their special calling, has taken to issuing periodic denials that such goings-on have become deeply imbedded, alternating with statements that he will turn the matter over to the very proper authorities, who will, in their turn, presumably leave no sheet unturned bringing the matter to light. Do not ask for U the Belles toil. . . .

● Speaking of Big Bangs and the UN, the Advertising Council, a non-profit group which supports the advertising industry, has released an ad depicting a nuclear explosion with the caption: "THIS IS ONE ALTERNATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS." "The UN is not perfect," it continues, "but it is our one best hope." The Council expects the mass media to donate some $5 million worth of ad space for the UN campaign—or maybe, that's its one best hope. It's a long step down for the Council from the Smokey-the-Bear stuff with which it's been associated in the past. Can anyone suggest one alternative to the Advertising Council?

● A twinkle of light gleamed last week out of the sordid morass of the Profumo affair. In these days when heads of state too often make their decisions *in accordance with the hoots and tramplings of mobs* in the street, the Prime Minister of England spoke to his people like a statesman and a man, saying he did not propose, in the face of a trivial if disgusting irrelevancy, to cancel forty years of his career as a public servant.

● On May 8, at the choicest spot on the grounds being readied for the 1964 N.Y. World's Fair, the American Economic Foundation held ground-breaking ceremonies for its $2.1-million Hall of Free Enterprise. The AEF, which is renowned for its work in taking the basic ideas of free market economics to schools and educators around the world, estimates that its pavilion and associated news media will reach several million people. Three foreign countries have already asked if they can use the Hall of Free Enterprise exhibits in their own lands after the Fair is over. For information, write to the American Economic Foundation, 51 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York.

● When the Holly Sugar Co. announced in 1961 that it would have to close its western Colorado sugar beet factory owing to a declining beet production in the area, local citizens rallied to save the industry. They raised $200,000 in earnest money to guarantee that farmers would increase sugar beet production at an agreed rate; the union at the Holly plant accepted a contract calling for a five-year wage freeze; and Holly agreed to invest $750,000 in expanding its plant. Results: sugar beet production has more than doubled in two years, employment is up, and the area is now on a sound economic footing. Total federal and state aid to save the region from economic perdition? You guessed it, none.

● Granted Art Is Art, But Some People Just Shouldn't Be Allowed To Play, Like For Instance Anti-Communist Ex-Communists (Courtesy Advanced Studies in Dramatic Ethics Division, *Harvard Crimson,* May 17, 1963): "When Mother Courage was wheeled onto Broadway six weeks ago its supporters warned against comparing the local production with Brecht's famous East Berliner Ensemble rendition . . . The Jerome Robbins version . . . was poor. Brecht's executors showed dubious taste in allowing Mr. Robbins to direct the play; not because he was a choreographer but because he was an informer. Brecht took a good deal of care to bring his personal and professional life into alignment with his political convictions [Brecht was a Communist]. He himself appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1947 and refused to name names. Robbins, however, testified with alacrity about the affiliations of others."

● A vacuum is the state in which Nelson Rockefeller's collapse left the state in which Nelson Rockefeller ruled supreme, unhappily. Abhorring it, Rep. John Lindsay, a prince of a feller, has rushed in to void his filiation. Good night, sweet, prints the *New York Herald Tribune* in effect, casting off its rocky mooring in commensal eagerness to clear the heir: "Some see him as a future Mayor, some as an eventual New York Governor, some as a Presidential candidate of a decade from now. . . ." And some see him, it does not say, as the Big Ooh and Aah of New York's Liberal Republicans, an ambitious and highly skilled void-filler. His Liberal credentials are impeccable, and unlike Mrs. Rockefeller, Marge Lindsay turns out to be an asset to her husband in more ways than one: she attended Miss Porter's school and Vassar, Liberaler than which you cannot get. Has she helped his career? the *Trib* asks. "Rep. Lindsay's grey eyes sobered, the ruggedly handsome blond-

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rown close-barbered head nodded. . . ." The Lindsays ave four children and are expected to keep them. 'here seem to be only two flies in the anointment: : Mr. Lindsay a Republican? And is 1968, by his own alculations, really a decade away?

) Musing on recent Supreme Court decisions and ıe Senate approval of September 17 as Constitution)ay, Sen. Karl Mundt wondered last week: Did the enate intend September 17 to be "in honor of" or "in ıemoriam to" the Constitution?

Left Hook

t's not altogether unnatural that the opposition hould try to head off Goldwater, and in politics foul ıeans are apparently perfectly okay if fair means on't succeed. Mr. Buckley (See "On the Right") escribes one especially vicious thrust against Gold- vater. It is the drive headed by Joseph Alsop—or suggested" by Joseph Alsop, to avoid a hierarchical vord which might connote Conspiracy—to paint the Goldwater movement as objectively racist. Now that vord "objectively" is hard to pack around with you very single time you want to say "racist" so that ventually, as the giraffe's neck is supposed to do, t will wither from disuse: and then it will be whis-)ered about merely that the conservative Republicans are "racist," and eventually, even—no doubt about it —that "Goldwater" is "racist." Mr. Buckley examines the movement, and the serious mischief it is likely to get the nation into.

Then there is the second anti-Goldwater line, which has to do with the terrible difficulties and embarrassments Eastern Republicans would face seeking re-election under the shadow of Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater. " 'Can't you see the picture?' one Republican said"—to pass on an episode described by *New York Times* reporter Warren Weaver Jr. under the headline, GOLDWATER'S CANDIDACY STIRS FEARS OF REPUBLICANS IN NORTHEAST—" 'I'm debating my opponent, and he says to me: "Do you agree with Goldwater on this?" No. "Do you agree on this?" No. "But you're asking people to vote for him for President—or are you?" 'What am I supposed to say?' the Republican declared."

That, of course, was never a problem Republicans, or readers of the *New York Times,* were supposed to worry about when it was so widely taken for granted that Nelson Rockefeller would be nominated by the convention. There are far more Republican congressmen running for re-election in 1964 with views like Goldwater's than like Rockefeller's—but as we say, we were never supposed to worry about the problem then. (And Senator Eastland never worried very much about running on a ticket headed by Truman, Stevenson, or Kennedy.) The planted axiom remains

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MEMO TO: JFK RE: ITALY FROM: SIGNOR X

(We asked a prominent Italian in the diplomatic service in Rome to prepare a short memorandum of the kind he'd have liked to see prepared for President Kennedy in connection with his visit.—ED.)

The White House, the State Department and many prominent columnists have approved, more or less openly, Italy's so-called "opening to the Left." This approval is based on the following assumptions: "Italy needs social reforms. Only these reforms and a consequent higher standard of living for the masses can curb Communism. Socialism advocates these reforms and, therefore, is the best ally of democracy against Communism. Those who oppose socialism, mainly the Liberal Party, do so in order to protect vested interests, and, by perpetuating social injustices, help the Communists." All of which is pure fantasy.

Italy emerged from the postwar crisis through a process which can be described as follows: American economic aid, restoration of public order, unreserved alignment with the West through NATO, stabilization of the currency, liberalization of foreign trade and economic integration in the Common Market. All this made it possible for Italians, both as individuals and as a people, to work their way towards unprecedented prosperity. Every category of Italians deserves a share of credit for this achievement. If there is a category which deserves a larger share, it is the owners and managers of private industrial enterprises. The courage, the foresight and the skill with which, against countless odds, they transformed the country's economy are beyond description.

At the risk of oversimplifying, one could say that during the last fifteen years Italy has progressed as the principles of liberalism (in the European sense: Americans would say free-market economics) were enacted, and has floundered as the principles of socialism were enacted. The Liberal Party has been a partner of all the coalition governments of the period in which Italy emerged from the ruins of the war as a modern, prosperous nation. Its influence went far beyond the number of votes it gathered, because its coalition partners, namely the Christian Democrats, were also largely influenced by its philosophy, and rejected Marxism.

The "opening to the Left," which led to the ejection of the Liberal ("free-market") Party from the coalition, is the result of an evolution which has taken place for some time within the CD and which, by upsetting the balance between its "liberal" and its socialist elements, throws that party into the arms of the Nenni socialists.

The Nenni socialists offer none of the political and administrative reforms needed. They aim at widening the range of state-owned but ineffectively controlled industries, which follow a policy of their own (like the famous ENI) which often satisfies the demands of the Marxist parties. In the past they have consistently opposed every sound governmental decision whether in domestic or foreign policy, including Italy's membership in NATO and in the Common Market. Now they aim at killing Italian neo-capitalism in the cradle. They do this partly for the sake of their dogmatic doctrine and partly in order to suppress every source of independent power. Moreover, they do so because they work hand in hand with the Communists in every field, including the municipal councils and the trade unions.

And so we have recently seen a substantial rise in public spending; a rise in the cost of living, and a deterioration in the balance of payments. There will be further attacks against private initiative, and, above all, a strong attempt at establishing regional political bodies, inevitably controlled by the Communists.

The last elections show how people reacted to this trend. A large number of voters, instead of being lured by the much advertised new course, joined the ranks of those who, since the war, have been convinced that the best way to put pressure on the government is to vote not for it but for its most powerful opponent, the Communist Party. Another very large number of voters, seeing that the Christian Democrats had turned their back on the policy which was responsible for Italy's recovery, voted for the Liberty Party or, to a lesser extent, for the Saragat socialists. The Demochristian Party lost ground on both sides, on the left as well as on the right. The Nenni socialists barely held their own.

There is nothing tragic about all this. The overwhelming majority of Italians still reject Communism. The increase in the Communist vote automatically mobilizes anti-Communist forces. However, one cannot fail to be surprised that the Americans sympathize with those who are responsible for this situation. Anybody who, instead of being misled by abstract misconceptions and by trivial slogans, has a factual knowledge of the Italian situation can only laugh when he reads that the Liberal Party is "reactionary" and that the "opening to the Left" is "the greatest anti-Communist operation since the Marshall Plan." It should, instead, be termed *Operation Suicide*. The Christian Democratic Party has been until recently the backbone of Italian democracy. It needs to be helped to remain just that, instead of being encouraged to outbid the Marxists. Anyhow, the more the Demochristian Party turns left, the more the Liberal Party becomes the only advocate of democracy; and it should be recognized as such, instead of being discredited with arguments borrowed from the Communists.

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true: you worry only about the good opinion of those on your left in contemporary politics, never about that on your right.

But behold the emergence of a great theme (how embarrassed the moderates will be!) which crystallizes in the current issue of *Look* magazine, in which Mr. George T. Harris, an amiable, intelligent, and utterly baffled political journalist, comes forward with the astounding conclusions that "the Republican leadership [is] already well to the right of its membership," and that what is currently going on, which by the way is *awful,* is a *coup d'état* by the radical Right membership in the Republican Party, not to say the Birchite Right, though come to think of it Mr. Harris doesn't even not say that.

And Messrs Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, positively decomposed by the developments at the San Francisco Convention of the Young Republicans (see below), record the awful spectacle of power draining away from the prim leadership of the Republican East, into the hands of the robuster West. What they chose to stress in their reporting of the San Francisco conference was, of course, the antics of a tiny group of crackpots, who influence nobody at all except Liberal journalists. The columnists finish by quoting a Republican observer: "We can't let the public get the idea that this bunch of nutty kids is making policy for the party." "What he and other Republican leaders are worried about," Messrs Evans and Novak conclude morosely, "is the public image projected by the convention. A deeper concern might be what happens to the Grand Old Party if and when the Young Republicans of the San Francisco convention take over the party itself." What will happen, maybe, is the rejuvenation of the Republican Party.

On all of this we report abundantly because you are seeing now, gentle reader, the straw being stuffed into the scarecrow, and before long he will be screaming and gawking and flailing his limbs about, insisting on his sempiternal jurisdiction over the corn-patch. Just never forget: he's made of straw. Gentlemen of the Right, unite: you have nothing to lose, and the country has everything to gain.

Notes on the Grand Tour

What to say about the Kennedy trip? Very little.

1. Crowds don't mean much. Usually they mean nothing. They have more to do with glamor than with anything else, and Kennedy after all has lots of glamor. Gregory Peck with an atom bomb in his holster.

2. The Berliners know it is American military might that keeps them free, but suspect if it had not been for de Gaulle, Kennedy would have made one of those fancy Laotian deals, the net result of which would have been the attrition of Berliner freedom. Therefore their demonstration was, ironically, intended less as a show than as a hypo for Kennedy's morale. The morale of West Berlin is just fine, thank you, and they don't need visiting potentates to nurse it along: they *do* need the potentates to stand by Berlin in case the Bear begins to move. At any rate, the symbiotic encounter so moved JFK that he actually uttered some truths about the Soviet Union, so horrifying the State Department that it rushed the very next day to issue an announcement saying that JFK hadn't meant to say what he said. But he *did* say that cooperation with the Communists is futile, and looked as though he meant it; so it may be that his visit to the Wall paid off.

Do you twist?

3. The President's idea of an atom fleet manned more or less along FEPC lines (1 Italian, 1½ Frenchmen, 1¾ Englishmen, 2 Americans per whatever) is obviously a bust, and Macmillan obviously relished the opportunity to veto it in the presence of his beaming countrymen. De Gaulle's studied indifference to Kennedy, and his magisterial reminder to Mr. Kennedy that whereas he is undoubtedly prepared to defend Europe at the risk of a nuclear war, his successor might not be, puts a quietus on the Kennedy plan for an integrated defense command for Europe. Kennedy is now left without any strategy whatever; and certainly with no idea whatever how he might force France to stop nuclear tests assuming he succeeded in concluding a treaty with Russia. Kennedy is reported to be so piqued that he is considering the dismantling of permanent U.S. installations in France—an act of spite, unnecessary, and unwise. Probably he will think better of it.

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For the Record

Last week it was the rank outsider, Gen. Lucius Clay, being boomed as possible dark horse material for San Francisco next summer. Next week it will be Sen. Clifford Case. Case operation being carefully prepared; N.J.'s favorite son will be pictured as the man who can stop Goldwater . . . . Prescott Bush, whose harsh remarks about the Rockefeller remarriage helped deflate Rocky, being punished by Liberal leaders of Connecticut GOP. Bush (he retired from the Senate only last year) has been told he probably won't be named a delegate to San Francisco. . . . Latest fund-raising gimmick (brainstorm of Millions of Americans for Goldwater, P.O. Box 5745, Amarillo, Tex.): Savings Accounts for Goldwater (you put your money in now and if BG is nominated next July, he gets it, plus interest; if not, you get it back). . . . Charles Bailey and Fletcher Knebel (Seven Days in May) planning new novel on a Republican convention to be published in near future. . . . U.S. publisher reliably reported to have commissioned textbook on Cuba and Caribbean by Herbert L. Matthews (I Saw Cuba Betrayed by H. L. Matthews?). . . . Former CIA director Allen Dulles has book ready for release. . . . Two other ex-CIAers preparing manuscripts too, on theory that if Dulles tells all, so can they.

Soviet Mandrakes (the Russian U-2) reportedly not only checking movement of Red Chinese troops in Himalayan area, but also along Sino-Soviet border. . . . Socialist government of Denmark rebuffed in national referendum which would have given government "priority purchase" right on all large land sales; only 26 per cent approved. . . . Nasser's support of Yemen revolution not so popular in Egypt now; nearly 8,000 Egyptian soldiers have died in operation. . . . East German toy makers in trouble: their toy farm buildings are not, it seems, easily adaptable for assembling as cooperatives.

Quotes of the Week on Profumo case: From letter page of N.Y. Daily News: "Well at least no one can say Macmillan manages the news." From British defector Burgess in Moscow to a British newspaper man: "Mark you, my dear boy, the longer I stay in the Soviet Union and read about the scandals, the more glad I am to be here."

Coming of Age

In New York politics, the Number One legislator is State Senator Walter Mahoney. He is, moreover, a conservative. He has played along with Governor Rockefeller over the last years, as faithful GOP politicians necessarily would; but he has never left anyone in doubt where his heart is, which is well over on the right. Senator Mahoney has now taken a step which has deeply disconcerted certain New York political circles, and whose reverberations are being heard all over the country by those who actively wonder how much power Rockefeller has left even in his own home state. The Senator has accepted the invitation of the Conservative Party of New York, founded last year as a counterweight to New York's Liberal Party, to address its first anniversary dinner.

The decision meant the effective end of the boycott against the Conservative Party by the official GOP, a boycott that was the punishment for the Conservatives' high act of lèse majesté in fielding candidates last year against Rockefeller and Javits. It is inconceivable that the news of Senator Mahoney's acceptance made even Happy happy, and the prospect is now that an increasing number of Republican legislators will openly seek the Conservatives' endorsement, even as the Democrats seek the Liberals'.

Meanwhile, of course, the *New York Times*, Keeper of the Establishment, is going quite wild with everyone. It has instructed Senator Mahoney to descend upon the Conservative meeting with a missionary zeal, and there to "call upon the reactionary dissidents to repent and return to the party fold." But it has also, biting its nails, expressed the fear that "instead of converting them, he may himself be converted." At any rate, Senator Mahoney, an honorable man and a fine politician, will carry on a dialogue with the Conservative Party, and it looks as though the *Times* will have to be carried kicking and screaming into the second half of the twentieth century.

On the Scene

Go West, Young Man

San Francisco—From the outset it was clear that the thirteenth biennial convention of the Young Republican National Federation, which assembled here June 25, was going to be a Goldwater rally all the way. Outgoing YR Chairman Len Nadasdy conceded that over 75 per cent of the nearly 1,250 delegates and alternates were BG supporters, and an informal poll by the Texas delegation confirmed the estimate. When Goldwater himself showed up to speak on Thursday night, the convention had to abandon the Sheraton-Palace Hotel, its official site, and move into capacious Longshore Hall, down by

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN IN BRAZIL
by John Dos Passos

HAWAII'S OPENING TO THE LEFT
by Larry Cott

the waterfront. There, upwards of 3,000 delighted YR's yelled themselves hoarse for their hero.

But there were Rockefeller forces on hand, and they and their Eastern allies had one more shot in their locker. The two leading candidates to succeed Nadasdy as chairman were 32-year-old Donald E. Lukens of the District of Columbia, who openly admitted his personal preference for Goldwater, and 31-year-old Charles McDevitt of Boise, Idaho, who publicly stood by the more traditional hands-off posture with regard to 1964. This was enough to put in McDevitt's pocket the hand-picked pro-Rockefeller delegation from New York and (under cast-iron unit rules) the votes of such longtime New York allies as Connecticut, New Jersey and Pennsylvania—though McDevitt, conscious of the overwhelmingly conservative coloration of the convention, strenuously insisted on his own personal conservatism and even addled most of Texas' fanatically pro-Goldwater delegation into voting for him.

Comic relief (of a sort) was provided by a small group of *ultima Thule* rightists from southern California, who proved anew the death-wish of their kind by rejecting Lukens as well as McDevitt and inducing their own usually sensible YR state chairman, Robert Gaston, to make a futile bid for the top spot himself. This only succeeded in forcing the closely divided convention to a second ballot—prior to which the New Yorkers, mistakenly calculating that McDevitt had carried the first one (he was actually two votes shy), lifted their chief strategist, Arthur Richardson of Rochester, to their shoulders and chanted "We Want Rocky!" That (among other things) brought California to its senses, and Lukens swept in to victory on the second roll call, 318 to 305. In that supremely significant moment, control of the Young Republican National Federation passed from the East to West, the Midwest, and the South.

Nevertheless, the general conduct of the Eastern Liberal delegations here quite probably represented the first fat raindrops of the thunderous squall their elders will kick up before consenting to turn the Republican Party over to Barry Goldwater and the Party's new leadership in the South and West. For example Jean McKee, head of the New York delegation, tried to amend the YR platform's denunciation of international Communism to include a matching attack on certain alleged internal menaces, among which she specifically included both the American Nazi Party and the entire John Birch Society. "I would say," she cooed, "that pro-fascist groups seem to be springing up all around us." On a standing vote, her amendment was roundly defeated.

All in all, there was a lot to be said for the warning issued at the convention's concluding banquet by Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, who urged the delegates to avoid intraparty strife. But the Senator's charity is needed closer to home. Alone among the 50 state delegations, a number of Pennsylvania YR's publicly boycotted Barry Goldwater's speech at Longshore Hall. G. F. H.

Notes and Asides

Here and there around the country there is agitation for the founding of state Conservative parties. We have argued before, but it should be said again, and if necessary again and again, that Conservative parties can only further the conservative cause under very special circumstances, such as those that exist in New York State. In New York a force was needed to counteract the influence of the left-wing Liberal Party; and in New York, the influence of New York City on the national parties is critical, overriding upstate conservatism. But surely that situation is not duplicated in California, where leadership of the Republican Party is up for grabs? To found a new party there in order to influence policies, is the equivalent of expressing oneself on car designs by going to Detroit and founding a new automobile company. By and large the Republican Party is surely the organization to work through. To turn away from its facilities without having tried to the utmost to exploit them for conservative ends can only subtract from the conservative potential.

Mr. Bozell (see page 19) advances a novel substitute for the idea of amending the Constitution so as to liberate it from the extremists on the Supreme Court, who have most recently read into it a proscription against common prayer in the public schools. Says Mr. Bozell: Get Congress to pass a Resolution elaborating its idea of the meaning of the First Amendment, and encouraging the states to interpret it as they do. What happens then? The Supreme Court fumes, and probably the Executive fumes along with it. But, it is true, it is unlikely that the Executive will order the paratroopers forward to wrest the Bibles from the students' hands.

Sharing though we do Mr. Bozell's resentment of the notion that we should have to change the Constitution every single time the Supreme Court rewrites it, we fear his proposed solution calls on us to set sail for the very eye of the hurricane. Both courses are difficult; but the idea that the Supreme Court and only the Court knows what the Constitution says is so thoroughly ingrained in the average American that it is unlikely that a formal revolt against it could hope to materialize. Which is why NATIONAL REVIEW continues to recommend, as we did a year before, a constitutional amendment, about which we shall report in an early issue.

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On The Right

The Play Against Goldwater

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The campaign the boys are cranking up against Senator Goldwater has something old, and something new. Those who are determined to stop the Senator's drive for the nomination are beginning the same complaints that were used so effectively against Robert Taft — Goldwater, as a conservative, Can't Win. Those arguments will prevail at the Convention, or not, according as Goldwater fails or succeeds in the public primaries to establish his popularity over that of the field.

Buckley

The most pernicious charge against the Goldwater movement was recently leveled quite explicitly by Joseph Alsop. Mr. Alsop simply cannot forgive the rebirth of conservatism in America, having himself taken the pains on more than one occasion to pronounce it quite dead. It is that Goldwater, if he runs, will emerge as the head of a racist party. The reasoning is as follows: A. Goldwater's supporters are saying that he stands the best chance against Kennedy because he can hope to carry the South. B. Anyone who can hope to take the South away from the Democrats will have to do so by appealing to the white population. C. Anyone who appeals to the South's white population must, in effect (notice that qualifier, "in effect"), be a segregationist. Therefore, D. we may conclude that the Republican Party, should it turn to Goldwater, will become the White Man's Party.

Immediately his critics are required to concede that Goldwater himself is not a racist—inasmuch as it is one of this amiable man's most palpable strengths that he is simply without prejudice. After all, he is himself half Jewish, and 'way before he got into politics he took the lead in helping kill Jim Crow in Phoenix, Arizona. Nevertheless, says Alsop, here is Goldwater, in July 1963, opposing that provision in the President's Civil Rights Bill which calls for outlawing segregation in all commercial facilities. Now, Goldwater has come out against the provision on the grounds that it undermines the right of private property. But never mind *why* he is against it; *in effect* his position makes him a segregationist, concludes Mr. Alsop—no doubt taking naughty pleasure out of the good political uses of bad logic.

Consider the consequences of acquiescing in this syllogistic effrontery. If it is true that Goldwater, because he believes in private property and states' rights, can therefore be called a segregationist in effect, then by the same token it is true that Jack Kennedy, because he believes in peace and disarmament, is pro-Communist in effect; that Herbert Hoover, because he was opposed to intervention during the late thirties, was a Nazi in effect; that the American Civil Liberties Union, because it opposes *ex parte* legislation in Georgia, is in favor of the Ku Klux Klan, in effect. The uses of the fallacy are many, and great, and cut across party lines. Republicans can come nearer to the truth by charging that the Democrats who approve the Civil Rights Bill in its present form are in effect opposed to private property; for the bill is, in one of its aspects, a direct assault on private property, to be sure in behalf of an end closely associated with justice. Ah-hah! The end justifies the means? Will the Republicans say that the Democratic Party holds that the end justifies the means?

The two parties will in due course be bombing each other in routine ways, but the megatonnage being plopped about by such as Mr. Alsop is frightening for more than the conventional reasons against wanton political warfare. The special danger here is, What happens after you have implicitly illegitimized any position or public policy the consequences of which can be said to play into the hands of segregationists? What happens *then?*—If you're told that because you don't want to force Mrs. Murphy to rent her room to a Negro, you're anti-Negro?

If the Democrats, in their anxiety to discredit Goldwater and the conservative wing of the Republican Party, hammer away at the theme that such sentiments as Goldwater's add up to an anti-Negro policy, then those who side with Goldwater may begin reconstructing their habits of thought and argument; and eventually their policies. Thereafter, they might proceed, resignedly, on the assumption that what is anti-Negro and what is traditionally American are apparently one and the same thing. And that therefore one must now choose between staying free, and truckling to the Negro vote.

This would be a dangerous turn in political thought, particularly so because, the complaints of Mr. James Baldwin and others notwithstanding, there has been a high degree of toleration in this country of race-centered legislation, foreign policy, domestic policy, and rhetoric. This has been possible because, outside the South, the community at large has not thought to identify itself along racial lines. But if the community is now asked to give up the ways it has practiced, and the rights it has respected; if it is told it may not gather behind a man of conservative principle, even an exemplary human being with views on foreign affairs, on domestic policy, and on the organization of the economy which are congenial to that community—on the grounds that to back such a man is to back segregation in effect . . . Then the community is likely to revolt.

At that point the white community would acquire a kind of racial self-consciousness. Every problem, every issue, would thereafterward be examined through the ethnic prism, on the presumption that it has a black side and a white side: and let the most powerful side—which in our time and our children's will be the white side—win. That would be the true politicalization of the race problem. And that is the dangerous direction of the reckless demagogy being used to discourage the nomination of Goldwater for President.

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From Washington Straight

CATO

Even Christine Keeler and her friends have not been able to stop Washington talking about Martin Luther King and his friends. Civil rights dominates discussions here. The best that the Profumo affair was able to generate in town was a few Leering limericks. And then everybody went back to speculating about the racial crisis.

Cato

There is going to be a filibuster, and Negro leaders threaten nation-wide demonstrations against it. Washington's brows are furrowed over the promise of a march on Capitol Hill—one sit-in opposed by almost everyone except the senators from New York. The suggestion has been made by some that Capitol Hill be cordoned off if the march materializes. The spectacle of a Negro Coxey's army advancing on the Hill (in "wave after wave" as one Negro leader put it) is more than even the Liberal Democrats can contemplate with equanimity. It is said that an army regiment at a nearby base has been alerted to supply the necessary manpower for possible police action in the event of a massive match on Washington.

This suggestion doesn't please many observers here, since it seems to guarantee violence. Gaining more support at the moment is the idea of a congressional recess during the demonstrations. Backers of this plan argue that orderly consideration of legislation would be impossible under mass intimidation, so that no legislative purpose would be served by staying in sweltering Washington during the sit-in. And, as prospects for an adjournment before late November melt at the speed of local ice cream cones, talk of a summer recess grows; so why not have the recess when the demonstrators arrive?

The main argument for this plan is that with Congress not meeting there would be no reason for the threatened horde of 100,000 to hang around the Hill. This would prevent violence (and save a few flowers from trampling).

But many object to the proposal, believing that a sudden recess in the face of a huge array of angry demonstrators would be a humiliating retreat for the United States Government. It sounds too much like Latin America. These objections were dismissed by one congressman: "Who cares what it sounds like? *I* would sound rather silly opposing anything that will keep the Hill free of bloodshed or violence."

There is also agreement in Washington that a march on Capitol Hill would destroy the hope of getting any civil rights legislation through at all. Even the present level of demonstrations is thought by some to hamper passage of the bill. One congressman with a record as a strong supporter of civil rights mused, "If these things don't stop, the Negro is going to be set back fifty years in his efforts to gain justice."

Most of the blame for the current crisis is being laid to the brothers Kennedy. It is charged that they have given constant encouragement to the more radical Negro factions, to the point that the situation is now out of hand.

Republicans are furious at the President's nomination of Henry Cabot Lodge as next Ambassador to South Vietnam.

When the nomination was announced, a startled Republican groaned, "Lodge has double-crossed us." The complaint was answered by a Senate staffer: "If he hasn't, it will be the first time."

Lodge has never been a popular figure among Republicans here. His famous pledge to put a Negro in the cabinet is generally believed by GOP brass to be one of the principal causes of Nixon's defeat. Lodge's latest defection has cost him the few friends he had left.

The Republican fury stems from realization that no matter what happens in Vietnam, the GOP will suffer. If Vietnam falls, as many here expect, the blame will be shared by Lodge and the Republicans. Pessimists point to the campaign being whipped up against Premier Diem, and recall the anti-Batista and anti-Tshombe drives; they look for the emergence of a Vietnamese Castro for the Administration to support. But if, by some miracle, Vietnam is saved from a Cuban fate, the credit will go to President Kennedy.

In the summer of 1962 the Administration rammed a $900 million accelerated public works program through Congress. Republicans attacked the proposal at the time as little more than a Democratic Party slush fund for the election then just a few months away. Liberal Democrats denounced the Republicans for their vicious accusations, talked up the danger of unemployment for the workers, while never discussing the possible unemployment of Democratic legislators. Republican predictions were accurate, of course. Most of the money went to areas represented by Democrats, and announcements of projects were usually made during the election campaign by the proud congressman. A report issued recently on the program has provoked unhappy memories for Hill Republicans. Sample entry: under "projects approved prior to Dec. 31, 1962" (read "projects approved in time for '62 election") Idaho (pop. 667,000) got exactly $2,367,000. Kansas (pop. 2,178,000) got $115,000. Idaho is certainly no depressed area, so it is no coincidence that Idaho has one Democratic senator and a completely Democratic House contingent. Kansas, on the other hand, was punished for having but one Democrat in its House representation.

Rep. Bob Dole (R., Kans.), describing the U.S. Travel Service as "a shining example of downright waste and inefficiency," points to the fact that the Agency spent $14,772 last year to develop its insignia. The service also spent $415,072 last year to establish six overseas travel offices. Of this amount, $192,000 was spent planning the offices in which the balance—$220,000—was to be spent.

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Kidnaped

First press reports said Col. Argoud, a leader of the outlawed CNR, had been delivered to the Paris police by his comrades: this is Col. Argoud's story of what happened to him one February night, in Munich.

ANTOINE ARGOUD

Before landing at Munich, the Alitalia jetliner slowly circled the lighted city. Through the window I saw the avenues and squares of a great city in holiday mood: it was Carnival Night, which nowhere in Germany, aside from Cologne, is celebrated with more enthusiasm and joy.

I didn't know then, having just spent more than a fortnight in Rome with my wife and daughters—during which time I had received no mail—that the important German newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung* had revealed, in its issue of February 21, that a commando group of French secret service agents, the ones they call "barbouzes" today, had been sent to Munich to try to capture me. As the plane circled for the landing, I hoped I would see my old friend N——— in Munich. Above all, my thoughts were of my wife Fouri, an Iranian, and the two daughters she had given me in thirteen years of marriage: Marie-Claire, eleven, whom we call Chabiche and Catherine, nine, whom we call Kabi; the people I love most in the world and who have been the major joy of my hard life as soldier, outlaw and political refugee.

I had left Rome at 6:30 P.M. It was 8:00 P.M. when the Caravelle landed. A few minutes later I was at the Eden-Wolff hotel, a comfortable commercial inn across from the main railroad station. I filled out the form in the name of Cinel, which was the name on the passport I carried; and they gave me Room 435. I went upstairs to drop my suitcase and my briefcase, the sum total of the belongings of a man fleeing the vengeance of a dictator. I joined my friend a little later and we went out to dinner over which we discussed mutual memories and friends.

11:30 P.M. Having said goodby to N———, I return to the Eden-Wolff. The hall is empty. The night porter, an old man, grey, with a long, thin, pale face, gives me my key. I approach the elevator and push the button. At that moment, two tall,

Col. Argoud

heavy-set men, with broad shoulders, dressed in German fashion and wearing Bavarian hats, enter the hall, walk rapidly toward me and take a stand on either side of me. One of them reaches in his pocket as if to draw out an identification card, says to me: "*Deutsche Polizei.*" Neither says another word; they motion to me to follow them. Thinking that they are German policemen, I move toward the door.

The street is almost deserted. We hear happy voices, fragments of music and of songs, all the sounds of Carnival in the restaurants and bars which are so numerous around the station. As we cross the threshold I note a car pulled up in front of the hotel. The two men push me brusquely, hitting me and dragging me toward the car.

I realize then—it hits me in a flash—that I am a victim of the notorious "barbouzes" of the OSE (*Organisation de Sécurité de l'Etat*), the secret political police of the authoritarian state in France, which plays the same role as the Gestapo in Hitler Germany and the NKVD in Communist Russia and which—among other activities—kidnaped and assassinated the engineer, Camille Petitjean, in Algeria.

I yell for help and fight them. A group of happy young night-owls are passing just at this moment. Curious faces turn toward us. Will they come to my assistance? But one of my captors calls out to them in German, "You can see we're having a good time; it's Carnival," and the passersby continue their promenade toward some gay cafe.

With blows and kicks I'm forced into the car which takes off with a roar.

I'm thrown on the back seat, like a package, between the two kidnapers. The beating goes on. In front, in addition to the driver, there are two other broad-shouldered "gorillas." "We've got you, Argoud," says the one who seems to be the leader, in French. In answer I start to yell and turn violently in the seat in an effort to break the rear window of the car. But I am dealing with four "specialists," accustomed to such work. Blows rain on me. They hit me across the face with the butts of their revolvers. I feel the bone in my nose break; my mouth fills with blood; one of my eyes is closed. The battle goes on, it seems to me, for several minutes. Overpowered, suffocating and blinded, I find myself gagged with a scarf, handcuffed.

While I lie panting on the floor of the car, expert hands go through my pockets and take my wallet.

Meanwhile, the car crosses Munich. "Barbouzes. Assassins," I manage to get out through broken teeth and blood. The commando leader considers this a moment and answers slowly and dispassionately. "We are working for the government," he says;

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"we are not paid mercenary killers."

A quarter of an hour later we leave the city. At the entrance of the autobahn to Stuttgart, they make me get out of the kidnap car and enter another car. "You can yell all you want now," says the chief. "This car has FFA [*Forces Françaises d'occupation en Allemagne*] plates and the German police have no right to stop us." So that same French Army which entered Germany in 1944—I had taken part in the fighting on the Vosges front—now serves as a screen for police operations of the type which Himmler made so notorious!

After the transfer from one car to the other, we don't move. A few minutes pass and I hear another car arrive and pull up behind the one in which I am. Doors open. Two men, I believe, get out and engage the commando leader in low-voiced conversation. I hear fragments of the talk. "We weren't able to get the suitcase," says one of the agents. It was the "barbouze" who had been given the job of picking up my suitcase from my room at the Eden-Wolff. For some reason he was unable to carry out his mission; I learned later that my bag and briefcase were found by the German police.

When the car leaves some few minutes later, at a slower pace, I am seated in the back. One of my eyes is totally closed and my head feels as if it might explode, but I am completely lucid. As we drive along I see road signs for Ulm, Angsburg, Stuttgart, then the cutoff for Karlsruhe. A little before Baden the leader motions to the two men on either side of me and they blindfold me. "Why are you doing this?" I manage to get out from under the gag. "Those are the orders," the chief replies. Leaning back in the seat I manage to shift the blindfold a little, enough to see with my good eye that we are leaving the autobahn at the main exit for Baden. A few minutes later, having covered about half a mile on a small and fairly curvy road, the car draws to a stop. From the sounds I gather we are filling the gas tank. A thousand efforts and I am able, despite the blindfold, to identify the gas station: it is a military station of the French forces in Germany. We take off again ten minutes later.

Free Passage to France

Toward six or seven in the morning, I make out a sign which says Wasselonne: we are now in France, in the country in whose service I gave 29 years of my life—I am 49—from the *Polytechnique* to Algeria, via the battlefields of the Second World War and staff positions with Marshal De Lattre de Tassigny and at Army General Staff Headquarters. I am returning to this same France, a prisoner, half conscious, gagged, blinded and bound, in the hands of the thugs who man the secret army of the regime. No need to say that there is no check at the frontier, on either the German or the French side: the FFA plates give my kidnapers free passage.

Dawn is breaking. From time to time, the car pulls up to the side of the road; we wait for another car bringing new guardians to relieve those who have been watching me. One of them, taking advantage of the momentary absence of their leader, tells me that he was himself a former officer. But when I ask him in what regiment he served, he remains silent.

We are approaching Paris now and traveling on secondary roads. In the outskirts of Paris, I am transferred, my eyes still blindfolded, to a small Renault truck into which I climb accompanied only by the guard who had identified himself as an ex-officer and the commando chief. As was reported later, the truck had been rented from an agency the night before, the day of my arrest; it was to serve as the dramatic background for my delivery to the regular Paris police according to plans which—a story in *L'Express* maintains—had been approved on February 22 by Minister of the Interior Roger Frey.

The little truck slows down, stops. By pulling against my bonds, and despite the blindfold, I am able to see a monument, a statue: it is the statue of Ste. Geneviève, patroness of Paris. We are in the heart of the city. "You have another bad quarter-hour ahead," the commando leader tells me. And the two of them make me lie down on the floor of the truck and tie me up with cords and ropes. Then I am alone. Every two or three minutes, someone looks in through the window to see that I am still there. During this time, as I learned later, one of the "gorillas" telephoned the police to tell them where I was and to try to put over the absurd story that I had been betrayed by my own comrades. No one, not even the papers closest to the regime, dared credit that version of my abduction for more than a day.

In 1958 I was the youngest colonel in the French Army. Today, in the prisons of the dictatorship, I am what they call *un soldat perdu,* a "lost soldier." Separated from my dear ones, I am left only with the conviction that I have acted throughout as a Frenchman, and a free man. In the battle without quarter which is being waged in today's world, I am certain that I have acted with integrity and faith in defense of Western values and of human liberties.

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The Third World War

Kennedy, Khrushchev and Mao

JAMES BURNHAM

It is exhausting even to think of the millions of words that Western intelligence agencies are grinding out on the topic of the Sino-Soviet conference scheduled to meet this month in Moscow. Actually, nothing decisive will happen. It is one more episode of an intricate struggle that has been developing for a number of years and has many more still to run. Some of the differences between the Chinese Communists and the Russian Communists are ideological phantoms that could be dispelled overnight, but others are based on solid realities, including the realities of personal pretensions, that a week of talking is not going to change. Mao is not going to hail Khrushchev on August 1 as his leader; nor Khrushchev, Mao. Communist China has a backward and sluggish economy today and will have ten years hence.

Burnham

I refer to "the differences between the Chinese Communists and the Russian Communists"; *not* to "the differences between China and Russia." Just here, I think, is the source of much confusion about "the Sino-Soviet split." Indeed, that last phrase, too, is ambiguous: for what we confront is *not* a split between China and the Soviet Union, but a split, or rather a factional struggle, between the Chinese and the Soviet (more particularly, the Russian) *Communists*. Certainly there are differences between China and Russia—geographic, ethnic, economic, cultural—that condition and affect the conflict between the rival Communist factions. But the struggle is in the first instance, in its primary meaning, among Communists; it is taking place within the historical framework of the world Communist enterprise.

Our government accepts the view that fundamentally the conflict is between Russia and China, and develops within the nation-state framework. Russia has a dynamic, relatively advanced economy, entering the phase of "high mass consumption." Most Russians want to abandon revolutionary adventures and settle down to the pleasures of an affluent society. This is the standpoint of the Khrushchev regime and the meaning of the "soft" policy of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese, with little to lose, advocate a "hard" revolutionary policy. They try to win over the Communists of other nations and the governments of Communist nations. In Russia itself there is a hard (Chinese) faction opposed to Khrushchev and trying to replace him.

Therefore, the reasoning continues, we should meet the policy of peaceful coexistence halfway and more than halfway, in order to convince the Russians that we too want peace, and to encourage the Russian interest in affluence and liberalization. In particular we must hope that Khrushchev and his soft faction will continue to govern Russia and the Communist bloc, and to dominate the policy of Communists elsewhere. To this end we ought to remain in patient dialogue with Khrushchev, to extend him a helping hand in his battle with the hards, and to take care that we do not confront him with unavoidable challenges or cause him to lose prestige by humiliating defeats.

In these ways we will make our contributions to what will be best for us and the world: the ascendancy of the softs in Russia, the Communist bloc and world Communism.

The Key Forgotten

This reasoning is very plausible—so plausible that it has convinced those who determine the foreign policy of the United States and most European nations. Given these opinions, there is no mystery in Mr. Kennedy's conduct of foreign affairs from Bay of Pigs to test ban. But this reasoning omits the key premise. As they have themselves often enough explained, the dispute between the soft and hard factions, *so far as it directly concerns the non-Communist world,* is only over how best to bury us. Essentially the same dispute has taken place several times before in Communist history: most elaborately in the drawn-out turn from the hard super-revolutionary line of the so-called "Third Period" (1929-33) to the Popular Front period that followed. It is a naive error of those not well acquainted with the history of Communism and revolutions to suppose that a soft line (united front, coexistence, Trojan Horse) is "less revolutionary" than a hard line (No Compromise! To the Barricades!). If anything, the contrary is the case. The rip-roaring slogans of the hard line are often a compensating expression of the weak position of the super-revolutionaries—as in the present dispute. Communism has made its great glacial advances under the soft, not the hard, strategy. Only at times of open revolutionary crisis—and not always then—does the hard line become serious.

New Complications

This time the soft-hard dispute is complicated by the fact that the contending factions have relatively independent power bases. This adds a new depth to the intra-Communist struggle, and new dangers for the world Communist enterprise. In theory it is not excluded that Communism should weaken itself irrecoverably by internecine conflict, as many another great enterprise has done. And it is obvious that the more energy the Communists spend on the internal fight, the less they have left to harm the rest of us. It follows that we ought by no means to favor (and even support) Khrushchev and the softs. We should do all we can—and there is a good deal we could do—to needle both opponents, to keep the fight going and to exacerbate it to a maximum. In many cases, we probably ought to seek ways to help the hard ("Chinese") wing, because it is the weaker. The worst disaster for the West would be the restoration of fully united policy within world Communism, no matter what faction came out on top.

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Principles and Heresies

What Does Kennedy Mean?

FRANK S. MEYER

So absurd does the rhetoric of Liberalism seem when judged in the light of reality that the sober conservative tends to discredit it as pure flourish. No American in his senses could conceivably mean what the words issuing from the mouths of Liberal spokesmen patently say; it must be ritualistic titillation for the satisfaction of ideological sentiment. Thus, President Kennedy's speech at American University last month has largely been considered in terms of its concrete programmatic statements: cessation of atmospheric nuclear tests, and high-level test-ban discussions in Moscow. What has not been seriously considered is the meaning of the speech as a whole with its underlying assumptions.

Meyer

Let us examine this speech by considering its key statements in a logical order and analyzing their import. If they form a coherent whole and if the actions of the Administration confirm in practice the ideological pattern that whole expresses, it would seem that we are dealing with something more significant than rhetorical flourishes.

Kennedy on the determining political reality of the mid-twentieth century, the drive of the Communist leadership to world conquest in the name of an encompassing ideology: "*. . . Let us re-examine our attitude towards the Soviet Union. It is discouraging to think that their leaders may actually believe what their propagandists write. . . . It is our hope —and the purpose of allied policies— to convince the Soviet Union that she, too, should let each nation choose its own form, so long as that choice does not interfere with the choices of others.*" But it is precisely the essence of Communism that propaganda and action, philosophical system and conflict-doctrine, the political-military and the agitational-revolutionary elements of its being, express a single unified purpose and reflect a deeply held faith. It would be heresy to that faith to "let each nation choose its own form."

It is pathetic to hope, as President Kennedy does in this speech, that "*if we cannot end now our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity.*" Diversity is just what the Communists, with their vision of a collectivist, controlled, engineered and utopian world, strive by every means at their disposal to eliminate. To posit "diversity" as the basis of a possible compromise with Communism is the historical equivalent of a Norman Crusader proposing to a Moslem leader acceptance of the doctrine of the Trinity as the basis for agreement between them.

This utter lack of understanding of the phenomenon of Communism and of the extreme challenge it poses to the West is the foundation of the structure of Liberal foreign policy that President Kennedy is developing. Like Franklin Roosevelt at Teheran and Yalta, he can conceive the Communists only as a rougher and cruder species of Liberal, with whom we can have "common interests." This conflict between us, in Kennedy's ideology, does not spring from the principled devotion of Communism to the destruction of Western civilization (the civilization of the free person and the transcendental moral law) and of the American Republic (the polity based upon the sanctity of the free person and the norm of the moral law). It is the result of a parallel guilt on both sides: "*We are both caught up in a vicious and dangerous cycle, with suspicion on one side breeding suspicion on the other, and new weapons begetting counterweapons.*"

We have, it would appear, in President Kennedy's view, "*a mutual deep interest in a just and genuine peace*" and in "*increased contact and communication.*" But "justice" in our tradition is derived from the objective reality of the moral and metaphysical order; to the Communist it is that which serves the victory of Communism. And "contact and communication," which is to us the stuff of civilized intercourse, is to them a weapon of war.

This radical failure to understand the historical significance of Communism as an alien and inimical force bearing down upon the West is central to the suicidal program Kennedy presents in this address. The focus of this program is that "*our primary long-range interest . . . is general and complete disarmament*"—or, to spell it out in the words of the specific program of his Administration introduced at the sixteenth General Assembly of the United Nations in September 1961: "The disbanding of all national armed forces and the prohibition of their re-establishment in any form whatsoever other than those required to preserve internal order and for contributions to the United Nations Peace Force."

Given the fearsome dangers of contemporary weapons, it is easy to understand why men grasp at straws. But it would be hard to understand how even the Liberal mind of a Kennedy could look with hope towards a world in which all force was centralized in a United Nations Army, if one did not understand his utter incomprehension of what the West and the United States stand for. His address makes clear his total failure not only to comprehend the impossibility of a world authority based simultaneously upon our ideals and the ideology of Communism, but also to comprehend the impossibility (even if Communism did not exist) of maintaining the virtues and triumphs of our civilization under the centralized power of any world monopoly of force.

President Kennedy's address is no compound of rhetorical flourishes; it represents a homogeneous ideology which is antagonistic to the American tradition of freedom, and, as a result, blurs our vision of the enemies of freedom and abysmally lowers our guard against them.

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Saving Our Children From God

The Court's gone too far! It will go farther still, predicts the author, given its interpretation in recent years of the 1st Amendment's Establishment Clause.

L. BRENT BOZELL

A great public uproar greeted the Supreme Court's decision in last year's school prayer case. The Court, some felt, was making war on religion. Don't be alarmed, the learned commentators soothed: All the Court has done is to forbid the states to get into the business of *composing* prayers: we must not suppose it will go further. Two weeks ago the commentators learned a thing or two. In the *Schempp* case, brought by a Pennsylvania Unitarian, and the *Murray* case, brought by a Maryland atheist, the Court encountered some prayers that were putatively composed by the Lord Himself. Not the kind of thing that may be heard in a public schoolroom in the United States, said the Supreme Court.

There were new signs of public dismay, but they hardly came to a roar. There was, rather, a kind of bewilderment in the air. How far *would* the Court go? Though established theology proclaimed otherwise, it seemed doubtful that God knew.

To grasp clearly this aspect of constitutional law, and particularly the current line of Supreme Court cases, it is vital to keep in mind the distinction between the 1st Amendment's "Establishment Clause" and its "Free Exercise Clause": the Amendment provides "Congress shall make no law [1] *respecting an establishment of religion,* or [2] *prohibiting the free exercise thereof.*" Of course both clauses may be involved in a given case; but they need not be, and, on the Court's showing, they were not in the *Schempp-Murray* cases. There was a lot of talk by the justices about the two clauses "overlapping" and their "interrelationship"—but it was just talk. In the final analysis, the Free Exercise Clause did not figure at all since "coercion," an indispensable factor for demonstrating a denial of free exercise, was not in evidence in either case. Both the Pennsylvania and Maryland statutes had expressly provided for excusing pupils from the religious readings. Nor was there any showing that "psychological disturbances" or other hardships might result from non-attendance. Given the record before it, then, the Court's holding of unconstitutionality rested squarely on the Establishment Clause.

The Key Issue

To be sure, there were reasons—assuming the prayers were vulnerable under the Establishment Clause—for the Court then to have invoked the Free Exercise Clause, as a counterbalancing consideration, on behalf of pupils who want to pray. But we may put aside this question of majority rights, so uncongenial to the Warren Court's approach to liberty, until a later moment. It makes better sense to examine, first, the Court's treatment of the Establishment Clause. This is the key issue, not only in these cases, but in the entire campaign to give the secularizing tendencies in America the sanction of law.

The majority opinion in *Schempp-Murray* eschewed historical inquiry into the Clause's meaning, in favor of *ex cathedra* declarations on its two major aspects. *"First,"* Justice Clark wrote, *"this Court has decisively settled [that the Establishment Clause] has been made wholly applicable to the States by the 14th Amendment."* As authority, he quoted a passage from Justice Roberts' opinion in *Cantwell* v. *Connecticut,* decided in 1940 (a case, as it happens, that did not involve the Establishment Clause), and then listed, seriatim, seven subsequent cases. *"Second,"* Clark said, *"this Court has rejected unequivocally the contention that the Establishment Clause forbids only governmental preference of one religion over another."* Again, there was no argument, but simply a series of citations to recent Court decisions, buttressed by excerpts from the two dissenting opinions in *Everson* v. *Board of Education* (the 1948 New Jersey bus case). Justice Jackson had said on that occasion: "The effect of the religious freedom was to take every form of propagation of religion out of the realm of things which could directly or indirectly be made public business"; and Justice Rutledge had addded: "The object [of the Establishment Clause] was broader than separating church and state in [the] narrow sense [of forbidding preference]. It was to create a complete and permanent separation of the spheres of religious activity and civil authority by comprehensively forbidding every form of public aid or support for religion."

These views, Justice Clark went on, were subsequently underwritten by a majority of the Court in the *McCollum* (forbidding religious instruction on school premises), *Zorach* (permitting released time for off-premises instruction) and *Engel* (the New York Regents' prayer) cases; moreover, *"none of the parties to either* [the Schempp or Murray] *case has questioned"* them. Therefore, while "others continue to question [the] history, logic and efficacy" of the Court's conclusions, Clark wound up, such objections "seem entirely

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untenable and of value only as academic exercises."

Clark's attempt to cut off the discussion was to some extent, let us note, understandable. After all, the proponents of religiosity in America—following a spate of articles and books disputing the *Everson* and *McCollum* decisions at the time of their rendering—have largely fallen silent, apparently accepting defeat. A great majority of the lawyers of the land, moreover, have evidently bought the theory that once the Supreme Court has spoken on a matter of constitutional law, however extravagantly, the issue is forever closed—so that even in their pleadings they dare not contest questions vital to their case.

Home Free

And these surrenders are critical. For if Clark's two basic propositions about the meaning of the Establishment Clause are accepted as correct, then the decisions in *Schempp-Murray* were also, if not self-evidently correct, at least arguably so; and the Court is home free. If it is true that the states, as well as Congress, are constitutionally required to respect a "high and impregnable . . . wall of separation between church and state," in the language of *Everson* and *McCollum*, or a strict "neutrality" toward religion in the prissier phrase of *Schempp-Murray*, then *every public action affecting religious interests constitutes a* prima facie *case of unconstitutionality;* and when the justices go on to strike down the action—by merely exercising what amount to unlimited discretionary powers — it becomes quite silly to fault the Court for aggression or usurpation. One can quibble and haggle about whether "neutrality" is better served by this course or that one—as Justice Stewart did in his feeble dissent, but such arguments will necessarily turn on the political, sociological or ideological views of the individual justices. There are, under these rules, no objective standards on which to base a judgment that the Court has, as a matter of law, gone too far.

Do we overstate the problem? Consider the formulation the Court majority announced in *Schempp-Murray* for applying its "neutrality" principle to concrete cases. "The test [for this and future cases]," according to Clark, "may be stated as follows: [in order for a given enactment] to withstand the strictures of the Establishment Clause, there must be [1] a secular legislative purpose, and [2] a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion." Now, as a concrete case, consider the governmental practice affecting religion that is probably in *least* danger of immediate judicial attack — the tax exemption of churches. For a number of years nearly everyone has seen fit to endorse the fiction that the exemption is simply incidental to a larger public policy of encouraging charitable and other eleemosynary activities.

But let Justice Clark's "test" be applied, and let it be applied candidly: Isn't it true that the "*primary* effect" of letting off religious institutions from their taxes is to advance not charity—which is only one of religion's concerns—but *religion*? Or more to the point: Can there be any real quarrel with the Supreme Court, on legal or logical grounds, the day it decides to adopt that view?

In a word, the answer to the charge that the Court "has gone too far" in the school prayer cases is that the Court is entitled to go just as far as it pleases in the direction of secularization, provided its fifteen-year-old interpretation of the Establishment Clause is good constitutional law. And that ought to be reason enough for opponents of secularization to give a moment's time to an "academic exercise."

Establishment Clause

Let us begin with the second of Justice Clark's propositions, the one that deals with the original meaning of the Establishment Clause. And let us agree at the outset that there are three kinds of evidence that might bear on the problem—the *situation* out of which the demand for the provision arose; the *comments* about the provision's meaning made by its authors at the time it was under consideration; and most important, of course, the *text* of the provision. It is hard to imagine relevant data in any other category.

1. The historical background is well known to most schoolboys. Many people emigrated to America in order, among other reasons, to get out from under the official state church that had been established in the old country. Some of the settlers, so they said, were opposed in principle to the idea of an established religion; but most of them quite clearly were not—as witness they promptly established religions of their own preference in the colonies. By the time the Constitution was adopted, strong sentiment against the establishment of any church had taken hold in *some* of the states, notably in Virginia which disestablished the Church of England in the 1780's and even refused formally to establish, as a substitute, "the Christian religion." Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, as everyone knows, played leading roles in Virginia disestablishmentarianism. In other states, however—five of them to be exact, including powerful Massachusetts—the locally established church held its ground. In this diverse situation, all parts of the country agreed that *a national government should have no power to disturb the existing local arrangements;* congressional power to establish a church would jeopardize

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Virginia's practice, while a power to disestablish would threaten, *e.g.*, Massachusetts'. Accordingly, control over religion was excluded from the list of powers delegated to Congress by the original Constitution. Nonetheless, three disestablishment states felt this negative protection was not enough, and requested an amendment dealing with their particular concerns. Virginia's proposal provided: ". . . *no particular religious sect or society ought to be favored or established, by law, in preference to others.*" North Carolina submitted identical language. The third suggestion, New Hampshire's, asserted simply, "Congress shall make no laws touching religion. . ." This, then, was the "situation" in the summer of 1789 when the First Congress considered and approved the Establishment Clause.

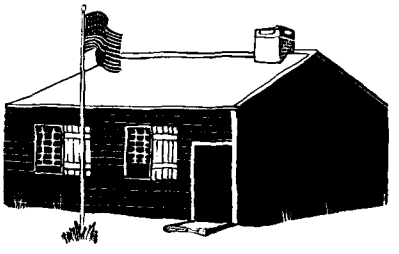
2. James Madison is rightly regarded as the principal drafter of the Clause. He took on the job of working the various state proposals for amendments into a consolidated Bill, and the language he chose for this particular matter was, *"nor shall any national religion be established."* In the course of the debate, Madison's original wording was changed to "no religion shall be established by law," at which point, evidently perceiving no substantial difference between the first and second versions, Madison advanced this explanation of the general proposal:

> . . . he apprehended the meaning of the words to be, that Congress should not establish a religion, and enforce the legal observation of it by law, nor compel men to worship God in any manner contrary to their conscience. Whether the words are necessary or not he did not mean to say [a comment that reflects Madison's oft-forgotten lukewarmness toward the whole idea of a Bill of Rights], but they had been required by some of the State Conventions.

Suffice for these purposes that Madison's understanding of the Amendment was never challenged, either in Congress or by the ratifying state legislatures. The ultimate change in phraseology manifestly did not affect the meaning of "establishment," but merely placed the ban against congressional action on a basis that would guarantee the integrity of local policy in all of the States.

3. *"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."* The language Congress finally approved is just what we would have expected, for a normal reading of the words produces precisely the results the historical situation called for. The decisive word is "respecting." That word has been read by the Supreme Court for the last fifteen years, and by secularist zealots for longer than that, as though it were equivalent to "tending toward." Yet obviously this is not what "respecting" means. It means, *"having to do with"*; and once we grant that degree of literacy to the Framers, it is clear the Clause forbade Congress to enact laws either *for* religious establishments or *against* them. The matter was to be left to local discretion. As Justice Story later wrote in his *Commentaries:*

"The whole power over the subject of religion is left [by the Amendment] exclusively to the state governments to be acted upon according to their own sense of justice and the State Constitutions; and the Catholic and the Protestant, the Calvinist and the Armenian, the Jew and the Infidel may sit down at the common table of the national councils without any inquisition into their faith or mode of worship."



Turning to "an establishment of religion," there is not the slightest doubt the phrase was a term of art in the eighteenth century, used often by Madison, Jefferson and other political commentators to signify—and never to signify anything else, unless the context clearly indicated otherwise—*a preference of one religion over another.* Extended documentation here is simply uneconomic. We may note, as one of a hundred proofs available, the *Encyclopedia Britannica's* explanation that the phrase "denotes any special connection with the state, or privileges and responsibilities before the law, possessed by one religious society to the exclusion of others; in a word, establishment is of the nature of a monopoly."

Before leaving this matter, the reader is certainly entitled to ask—How, if the case is this clear, has the Supreme Court managed to advance and maintain an utterly contrary position? Has the Court relied on some substantial piece of evidence we have omitted? The answer is, No; none that bears on the problem. From *Everson* and *McCollum* down to the *Engel* case in 1962 (the last time it deigned to discuss history), the Court has reached its secularist verdicts by—a) discussing the religious persecutions in Europe from which American settlers fled; b) citing Virginia's famous struggle against the Anglican establishment, particularly the roles of Madison and Jefferson; c) inferring from Jefferson's, and particularly Madison's, influence on the First Congress that the adoption of the federal Establishment Clause was a replay of the Virginia experience! We say "inferring" with some charity because the argument is made in the absence of a single item of evidence—and in the teeth of literally pages to the contrary—that either Jefferson or Madison wished upon, or conceived himself wishing upon, the union of thirteen states the arrangement he had recommended to Virginia.*

Justice Brennan's Opinion

For the sake of foreigners, we may allude to three points Justice Brennan made in his lengthy concurring opinion that bear on this analysis. Brennan, who, unlike his brethren, did not treat history as entirely irrelevant, began in a burst of candor that could not have made the other Justices happy: ". . . *it is true that the Framers' immediate concern was to prevent the setting up of an official church. . . .*" "But," he quickly added, "there is nothing in the text of the Establishment Clause that supports the view that [this] was meant to be the full extent of the prohibitions against

*The Virginia arrangement was, incidentally, a far cry from the Supreme Court's "complete and permanent separation of the spheres of religious activity and civil authority." Religious instruction in the State University was, for example, earnestly promoted by Jefferson.

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official involvements in religion." Which is, of course, a quaint way of adducing constitutional law unless one is prepared to suggest some *evidence* the Framers had other prohibitions in mind. Brennan ventured one suggestion—an argument by a Mr. Lardner that the Clause's use of the word "religion" instead of "church" was inexplicable except as a proof that state support of religion *per se* was banned. The answer: the Framers said "religion" because they meant to prohibit the establishment not only of a particular religious *sect—i.e.*, a "church," but also of any particular *"religion"—i.e.*, as Virginia did "the Christian religion."

Second, Brennan thought that even though Jefferson and Madison might be shown to favor public school prayers, the "more fruitful inquiry is whether [the prayers] tend to promote the type of interdependence between religion and state which the First Amendment was designed to prevent." We may stop the Justice there: obviously the "fruitfulness" of the approach is that it assumes the answer to the very question under discussion—namely what it is the 1st Amendment was designed to prevent.

And Brennan's third point that bears here: "education, as the Framers knew it," he said, "was in the main confined to private schools," and that is why "they gave no distinct consideration to . . . devotional exercises in public institutions." Very well; but Brennan and the rest of the justices simply must get it through their heads that the failure of constitution makers to deal with a given subject is not a reason *for* courts' incorporating that subject into the Constitution, but *against* their doing so.

Bill of Rights

We may turn now to the majority's other proposition, the claim that the Establishment Clause was made binding on the states by the 14th Amendment. Mercifully, the inquiry need not be extensive. We have no need to examine the general relationship of the Bill of Rights to the 14th Amendment, a question that involves many considerations and would take us through nearly 40 years of Supreme Court decisions. For even if it were true that the Framers of the 14th intended to make all of the rest of the Bill of Rights applicable to the states, there are two decisive reasons why such a conclusion is absurd in the case of the Establishment Clause.

1. We have agreed that the original Establishment Clause forbade "Congress a) to establish a national church, and b) to interfere with existing state arrangements regarding religion." Let us now, following the Supreme Court's theory of the 14th Amendment, place a "state" in the shoes of "Congress," and see what we come up with. A state is now forbidden a) to establish a *national* religion! and b) to interfere with a state's—*i.e.*, its *own*—arrangements regarding religion!! Nor are these contradictions produced by mere logic-chopping. The way the Supreme Court has contrived to tie in the 14th Amendment with the Bill of Rights in other situations is by arguing that the 14th's Framers intended their word "liberty" to relate to the various "liberties" asserted by the Bill, and as the latter had been protected against federal encroachment, so they would thereafter be protected against state encroachment. But as the late Professor Corwin has pointed out, the Establishment Clause, *unlike e.g.*, the right to bear arms, is not in the nature of a "liberty"; rather, it is like the 10th Amendment, a delineation of the fears of federal and state power. The only liberty the Establishment Clause conceivably protects is freedom from a national church: but a state is hardly in a position to jeopardize that liberty—if only for reasons of geography.

2. The other point is historical. Very often attempts to instruct the Court about the intentions of the 14th's Framers must rest on the negative argument that no evidence exists that a given restriction on the states —for example, that against segregated schools—was on the Framers' minds. Here, however, in addition to the negative argument (which happens to be open-go-shut), there is the positive fact that only seven years after the 14th was ratified, a serious attempt was made to amend the Constitution by prohibiting state establishments of religion! Neither this, the famous Blaine Amendment which enjoyed President Grant's full endorsement, nor any of the ten others proposed at that time on the matter of state-church connections was approved: but the fact they were proposed and earnestly debated by the 14th's contemporaries surely eliminates the possibility that the 14th was understood to have covered these matters.

And how has the Supreme Court, as Justice Clark put it, "decisively settled" this issue to the contrary? It happened in the *Everson* and *McCollum* cases, and it happened without a single word of argument.

Fraud and Myth

Such, then, are the dimensions of the Supreme Court's aggression in this field. For fifteen years the Court —and we may well speak bluntly— has perpetrated a fraud on the American community. It is a fraud because the community has by and large assumed, and has had the right to assume, that its highest courts have been following accepted rules of constitutional construction, and that therefore the controversy that has swirled around its conclusions is a typical product of "disagreements among lawyers." The fraud has been abetted, moreover, by a myth about the Supreme Court's function and power that has been endorsed by what appears—but I think only appears—to be a majority of the community's articulate members: the myth, namely, that "the Constitution means what the Supreme Court says it means"—the idea that no other public authority is constitutionally entitled to join the Court in interpreting the nation's charter document. This is not the place to expose that myth against the clearly contrary ideas of the Constitution's Framers and the authors of the *Federalist Papers*. It is the place, however, to suggest the community had better begin to think deeply about the myth's consequences. The defenders of religiosity in the community who were able to live with the *Everson* case because it did, after all, permit parochial school children to ride on the public buses: and who were able to live with *McCollum's* ban on religious instruction in the schools because, after all, *Zorach* soon came along and allowed the instruction to take place elsewhere on released time—the defenders are now impaled on the *prin-*

(Continued on p. 34)

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Problems of Understanding Communism

Recently your servant participated in a big conference at Tampa, Florida, sponsored by Governor Bryant, the Florida Center for Cold War Education, and the Institute for American Strategy. The originator of this Tampa meeting, and one of the best speakers, was a professor of English at the University of Tampa, Dr. Martin Griffin.

Kirk

Dr. Griffin says, rightly, that the primary problem is socialist illusions — of which Communism is but an offshoot. He is right; but his observation illustrates the difficulty of teaching high school students, or even younger pupils, something about the nature of Communism.

Florida law requires that a course in Communism be part of every public school's curriculum, required for all students. Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer and a colleague have prepared a manual on Communism which is used in the Florida schools.

I am not sure how effective in Florida this instruction in Communism *vs.* a free society has become: in general, the program is soundly organized. But do the teachers know enough of the subject, or of history, politics, economics, theology, and morals, to convey some real understanding of all this?

Abolition in Vermont

In some other states, clearly, even the chief administrators of the public educational system know next to nothing about the theories and practices of our Soviet adversaries. Recently the Vermont State Department of Education eliminated the section on "conflict between Communism and our way of life" from the state's "Survival Training" classes. Also, that department specifically banned the use of books by J. Edgar Hoover, in that course. What with many protests and a legislative inquiry, the Commissioner of Education rescinded a subordinate's action and put Mr. Hoover's books back on the shelves. The study of the conflict with Communism, nevertheless, remained abolished—in part on the ground that there wasn't time to deal with the subject properly, in part because of the lack of people to teach the subject adequately.

But the immediate cause of the elimination of the study of Communism, according to Mr. A. John Holden, Commissioner of Education, was a letter written by a schoolteacher. This "reported the instructor in a CDAE course as strengthening a number of popularly held myths, such as 'private ownership of land is not permitted' and 'the Soviet social structure is changeless. If you are born a peasant you will die a peasant.' This gave me real cause for alarm, for if we build our mental defenses against Communism on alleged facts that are in error we have but flimsy defense."

No doubt. But the trouble here is that Commissioner Holden seems more in error than the nameless instructor whose lectures alarmed him. First, private ownership of land is *not* permitted in Soviet Russia—neither in Marxist theory nor in Soviet practice. All land belongs to the Soviet state. On sufferance, a peasant may be permitted to cultivate a small plot of his own, and pocket his proceeds—but this is not ownership. On sufferance, a commissar may be allowed to lease a building-site from the state and erect a private residence: but he cannot alienate that property; this is not land ownership.

Second, although it is something of an exaggeration to say that a peasant in Soviet Russia *must* remain a peasant, in fact the society of the Communist states is much more rigid and stratified than Western society, particularly that of the United States: it is the domination of a host of squalid oligarchs. A Russian peasant today would have far less possibility of attaining eminence and affluence in any capacity than the son of a small farmer in Michigan, say.

So Mr. A. John Holden clearly needs some instruction about Soviet Communism. His own defenses are flimsy indeed. When such gentlemen are at the head of state educational systems, what will the courses in Communism *vs.* a-free-order amount to, in the average school?

Uneducated Educators

At the spring conference, in New York City, of the Association of Teachers of Social Studies, the topic of teaching about Communism arose. Some teachers said that "no matter how hard they tried to present a balanced picture of the Soviet Union, the pupils kept repeating the old clichés they had absorbed from mass media." One suspects that these "old clichés" may have been truer than the "objective" views of the Vermont teacher.

In fine, much of the trouble about adequate instruction in this field is bound up with the ignorance of school administrators and teachers. The Florida conference on "Cold War Education" did a little to remedy this, for a good many educational administrators and teachers were present, and some of the speakers were very well-informed indeed: Dr. William Roberts, Dr. Charles Wesley Lowry, Senator Dodd, Dr. Anthony Bouscaren, Dr. William R. Kintner, Mr. Karl Baarslag, Dr. Stefan Possony, Dr. Clarence Perry Oakes, Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer, and several others of equal standing. Yet some fifteen-minute speeches cannot compensate for a generation of mal-education. If one knows next to nothing of modern history and political theory, it is next to impossible to be a good teacher of the struggle with Communism.

Also, it is difficult to teach a mere negative. The student in high school cannot apprehend Communism properly unless he has some smattering of other disciplines, particularly American government. Really intelligent teaching about the Cold War waits upon a general renaissance of American schools.

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To Educate the Educators

RUSSELL KIRK

Friends of mine tell me that long ago they despaired of restoring intellect and imagination to the American school and the American college. Certainly the task is staggering. Yet some courageous souls are fighting the good fight for the mind—among them, here and there, an earnest school administrator. Mr. Siegel describes one such in a well-written novel, which contains several admirable sketches of character. Most of the teachers with whom this principal must work are dull tools.

Here is one of them, a Miss Pomeroy, addressing Principal Evans: "An ability to analyze is extremely important in order to enhance appreciation. That is perfectly obvious. Have you, for example, seen the section on our treatment of *Silas Marner*? Why, that has been our most successful approach to the study of George Eliot. We separate the students into groups, and they put together a newspaper. Individual students for each situation. For example, one does a report on the trial of Marner as if it is happening somewhere in the world today. Then we have a *Better Homes and Gardens* type of article by Nancy Cass in which she discusses preparing a dinner for her guests. An article on handloom weaving. And so on."

But Miss Pomeroy (who expects a student to define "jejune," though she herself doesn't know the meaning of the word) is a comparatively superior type. The teacher of mathematics, Miss Cresswell, has taught absolutely nothing to whole generations of young people; her salary goes up regularly, because of "in-service credits," gained through enrolling in courses in Education: ". . . she has satisfactorily completed improvement courses in 'The Slow Child,' 'The Gifted Child,' 'The Average Child,' 'Historical Sites in the State of New York' (lectures plus photographs), 'How to Improve Reading Skills in the Foreign-born,' 'The Place of Humor in the Classroom,' and a special series sponsored by the Teachers' Association that consisted of invited speakers from local industry. Miss Cresswell had been exposed to the background and contributions to society of a well-known cosmetics firm, and a business that destroyed mountains for the manufacture of gravel."

Mr. Siegel does not caricature. To find what actually is taught in teachers' colleges and departments of education, one turns to the serious study by Mr. Koerner, complete with elaborate documentation. The typical American teacher is not really competent to teach any discipline; and the teachers themselves know how wretched their training has been: of a sample of more than seven thousand new teachers, only 20 per cent found their "professional" preparation very helpful.

"A weak faculty operates a weak program that attracts weak students," Mr. Koerner remarks in his final chapter. "Strong students are deterred by these weaknesses from entering the field and ultimately forcing improvements. Graduate programs in Education put large numbers of incompetent persons through a variety of incompetent degrees, and these persons then become school administrators who hire teachers, or they become professors of Education who train teachers and who run other graduate programs to train other administrators and professors of Education."

With wondrous patience, Dr. Koerner examines the content of education courses, the proliferation of those courses, the shabby "doctor of Education," the stranglehold of the Establishment in the public schools and teachers' colleges, and much more. He is systematic and irrefutable. At the end, he even offers some sound suggestions for reform. Here is the book for anyone who wants to know why all the vague recent talk about "excellence" in schools has led nowhere. When teachers not infrequently are less intelligent (and the public schools get mostly the college graduates rejected by other employers) than the better boys and girls whom they are supposed to instruct, it is no wonder that a smug dullness remains enthroned in our schools.

WISE AND WITTY, Mr. Martin Mayer dissects the "social stew" curricula of the schools. He is backed by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Carnegie Corporation, so that such bodies as the National Education Association will find great difficulty in smearing his report. His criticism of Hunt's and Metcalf's book, *Teaching High School Social Studies*, may serve to suggest Mr. Mayer's mordant shrewdness (Hunt and Metcalf desire to center social studies round "controversial issues"): "'Social class' is a commonplace, though it is almost always seen in the puerile framework of magazine articles and Vance Packardisms. (Teachers also bring with them the simple-minded 'upper-lower' stuff that dominates their educational psychology courses.) 'Economics' is not barred, just ill-taught; and the naive Keynesian doctrine that Hunt and Metcalf wish to introduce is not much less of a myth than the free-enterprise shibboleths that worry them. 'Minority-

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The Principal, by Benjamin Siegel. Harcourt, $4.95

The Miseducation of American Teachers, by James D. Koerner. Houghton, $4.95

Where, When, and Why: Social Studies in American Schools, by Martin Mayer. Harper, $3.95

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group relations' and 'national beliefs' are all over the curriculum, often enough in just the manner Hunt and Metcalf seem to approve (which can be nastily but not inaccurately called the You're-a-better-man-than-I-am-Gunga-Din approach). One should not label as 'authoritarian' people whose first loyalties are to immediate family, spreading thereafter to friends, neighbors, tribe, etc.; the poor chaps are just human. Even if we could do it, we do not wish to create a community of saints."

If school boards and university administrators will pay a little attention to Mr. Mayer and Mr. Koerner, something may yet be done to restore right reason among us. Teaching, in Mr. Mayer's phrase, "is the reorganizing of raw experience in such a way that the human mind will discover the usable patterns of thought called disciplines rather than the hodge-podge of irrelevancies called common sense." For a generation, American schools scarcely have been commonsensical; still less have they provided discipline — lacking which, the mind cannot be free.

Science Fiction

Science and Song

THEODORE STURGEON

HARRY MARTINSON is one of the Immortals of the Swedish Academy, author of a strange and moving poem called "Cicada," and, from it, the libretto of Karl-Birger Blomdahl's opera, which was produced at the Edinburgh Festival in 1959 and at Covent Garden in 1960. "Cicada" comprised the first 29 of the 103 "songs" of *Aniara*.

Aniara, by Harry Martinson; adapted by Hugh Macdiarmid and Elspeth Harley Schubert. Knopf, $4.00

Adapted from the Swedish version, which has sold some forty thousand copies, the book is done in vivid and sensitive language. Of additional interest is an introduction by Dr. Hall, Reader of Mathematics at Upsala University, and a glossary of some of the neologisms Martinson introduces in his work—most of which are as soundly based in etymology as his narrative is in science.

Science fiction is poetry's only rival in the elimination of horizons. They have been together more than once since Ezekiel saw the wheel—yet strangely seldom, and seldom well. Here they are welded and annealed.

Aniara is a space ship, or "goldonda," bound from Earth for Mars with eight thousand colonists. A chance encounter with a meteor swarm turns the vessel and damages the controls in such a way that the ship, helpless and beyond control, hurtles outward toward the constellation Lyra. We view *Aniara*'s people, by sight and insight, in the sixth, the ninth, the twelfth and twentieth years. The narrator is the officer in charge of the Mima, a sort of trancendental TV, which brings in scenes and sequences from many places, not all of them known to men. To the entrapped thousands, Mima is the only contact with anything outside the ship and its predicament, and when Mima fails, for reasons not here to be divulged, it is a tragedy most profound. Thereafter, fads and fashions come and go,

loves and losses, until at the end corrosion penetrates, the great halls are hushed, and round the guttering light which has for years now burned by Mima's grave, unchallenged silence closes.

The urge to quote from this extraordinary work is irresistible, the choice of quotation difficult in the extreme, for Martinson deals with so much: nostalgia, hopelessness, the shallow opiate of the passing fad, sex without love, love without sex—then, there's Isagel: *She wounds, but as a rose may wound, / Not always, as expected, with its thorn. / A rose will always wound you with its rose.* And when, years later, she dies, she who was ship's mathematician and the narrator's only contact with system and meaning, he expresses his grief so softly that it is conveyed as inexpressible: *Invisible to us, she glided quietly / Into the region of the Laws of Numbers / Where endless, unexplored reserves await us.* And there's the silent shock, the mystery impenetrable, of the single spear which overtakes and passes the space ship, driving through emptiness unexplained.

To us, however, Martinson's crowning achievement is the communication at last of galactic immensity, something heretofore reserved to intuition or the highly exclusive speech of abstract mathematics. The poet does this not once, but time and time again, relentlessly and in many ways. He speaks of glass, which is neither liquid nor solid but a super-cooled fluid, and of its slow-flow characteristic—some few millionths of an inch in a thousand years—and he likens the ship, traveling at an almost incalculable rate, to a flaw in a delicate glass bowl: *Now we have fathomed what our space ship is / —a tiny bubble in a glass of God.* And this: *Our Chief Astronomer showed us a picture / Of a galaxy which appeared to be receding / And many sank down on their knees / And began praying: Make it come nearer, Lord!* And this:

The richest of the languages we know,
Xinombric, has some three million words,
But the galaxy you are watching now
Contains far more than ninety billion suns.
Has any human brain ever mastered all the words
In the language of Xinombra?
Not a single one!
Now you understand?
And yet—do you?

The burden of symbolism in *Aniara*

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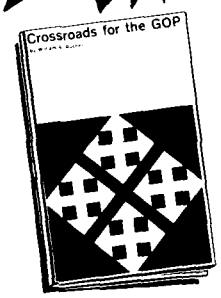

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depends solely upon the breadth of the reader's shoulders. The work stands by itself, and awaits participation without seeming to care much one way or the other. If the concept of an inhabited object hurtling uncontrolled through nothingness, with legend dead behind it and hope not only unborn, but unconceived ahead, commends itself to you, by all means assume it. If the Mima, which gives images often of the unknown as well as of the distance-dwindling past, and is worshiped, and itself dies (and is *still* worshiped), seems a familiar artifact to you, then carry and ponder it. If Desmond Fennell's "Goodbye to Summer" [*NR*, April 9] appears suddenly to be endpapers to the aching dirge, so be it. If you are unafraid of the vision of a bottomless past, then by all means read *Aniara*.

Random Notes

● MOVIES: The bigger the whale, the more demands for one's two cents' worth. *Cleopatra*, the Circus Maximus now raging around the Republic, has lawsuits among its actors as to who stands where in the posters. The posters have been redesigned so often that *Variety* keeps up with the hassle under the headline, "Move Over, Please." It has been stamped Decent by the Production Code people, but you are to understand that they are being Broad-minded out of sheer awe. . . . The Epilepsy Foundation has criticized Caesar's epileptic fits. More, later. . . . Ingmar Bergman has completed his first color film, "a comedy from the gay twenties" says the ad, and titled *As For All These Women*. . . . Nathan Kroll is producing and directing a movie based on Barbara Tuchman's *The Guns of August*. . . . Luis Buñuel, the Spanish master, will begin shooting Octave Mirbeau's *The Diary of a Chambermaid* in October. . . . More title trouble: the new Bette Davis effort to create another Guignol shocker like *What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?* has been changed from *Dead Pigeon* to *Dead Ringer*.

Conan Doyle, never out of vogue, is looking up in a big way. The British are filming a Holmes-Watson flick called *The Fog. The White Company*, Doyle's knighthood-in-flower novel, is to become a million-dollar-budget epic, and the Brigadier Gerard stories are being melted down into a movie by Films Raoul Ploquin, Paris. TV announces another "Arthur Conan Doyle Theater," and Broadway has a musical up its sleeve called *Baker Street*, with Rex Harrison in the offing as Holmes.

● PRIZES: The Hawthornden Prize, usually given to a work of fiction or of poetry, has been awarded to Alistair Horne's *The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916*, an historical study. The prize is one of the most coveted among British writers. Mr. Horne is currently writing *The Siege of Paris 1870-1871 and the Commune*.

The new annual prize for translations, the PEN Club Award, goes this year to Archibald Colquhon for his translation of Federico de Roberto's *The Viceroys* (Harcourt). Mr. Colquhon is one of the best translators now working; *The Leopard* and a much praised re-translation of *I Promessi Sposi* have already established his superior reputation.

● BOOKS: J. R. R. Tolkien, author of *The Hobbit* and the epic trilogy *The Lord of the Rings*, considered by many critics as the greatest romance in English since *The Faerie Queene*, has completed *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil*, to be published by Houghton Mifflin in October. And rumor has it that there will be three more volumes of the *Rings* cycle. . . . Harold Rosenberg's *Ashile Gorky: The Man, the Time, the Idea* (Grove, $2.95) is offered as the definitive biography of the American painter. Color plates. . . . Ed Quinn, journalist and photographer, has made a record of his thirteen-year friendship with Pablo Picasso, to be published by McGraw-Hill. Thirty-six pages of color reproductions.

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France and Her Army

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

OF THESE THREE books, the first will have the greatest interest for today's American reader, since it provides considerable insight into events and policies which are still in evolution, including the current military decisions which concern France's future as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The French Army: A Military-Political History, by Paul-Marie de la Gorce. Braziller, $10.00

Dare Call It Treason, by Richard M. Watt. Simon & Schuster, $5.95

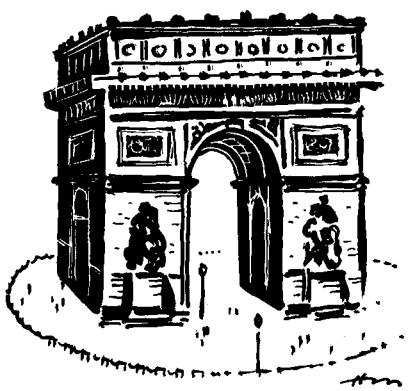
The Duel for France, 1944, by Martin Blumenson. Houghton, $6.95

M. de la Gorce, a French journalist and reserve officer, takes aim at this basic question: How has it come about that the French Army, which once took pride in being above politics, has gradually become so deeply involved in political action as to be found, by 1958, openly hostile to the political leadership of the Republic and largely instrumental in effecting a profound change in the government of France?

The period covered by the book begins in 1890, continues through the Dreyfus affair, the shifts in military policy that preceded 1914, the terrible blood-baths of 1915-1917 which resulted in the mutinies of the latter year that almost brought the French Army to utter collapse, the recovery of 1918, and the years of stagnation between the two wars. All this is Act One, the setting of the stage for the somber drama of defeat, disunity, recovery again, and the successive frustrations of Indochina and Algeria which followed.

In the last months of World War I, says the author, "what mattered above all to the totality of military opinion was that the Bolshevik revolution represented the ultimate stage on the path of defeatism and treason" which released German troops from the Russian front for the great offensives against France in the spring of 1918. "The mark that this left on military opinion would never subsequently be erased. . . . At the same time, the whole conservative and nationalist ideology with which the military were so deeply impregnated induced them to look on Communism as the most acute form of social subversion."

The author presents the most convincing case this reviewer has yet seen for the possibility, after the German victories of 1940, of continued resistance by the French forces in North Africa, which, he notes with astonishment, was not even seriously discussed by the Council of Ministers. Yet it would have been possible to assemble as many as 500,000 troops, with a strong air force and most of the fleet, in North Africa—which would quickly have settled the hash of Mussolini's Black Shirts in Libya and given the Allies an unshakable grip on the Mediterranean and the Middle East. "Above all, the resistance of the French Army in France would have had an entirely different significance if from the beginning of June it had been conceived as a vast delaying action serving to cover the transfer of a large part of the armed forces from France to Algeria and



Morocco." Instead, there came the Vichy regime, and the appeal of Charles de Gaulle on June 18—which confronted the French Army with the necessity of individual choice between established authority and "irrevocable decisions and total commitments" dictated by conscience. "The age of the individual," the author notes rather grimly, "would not rapidly expire when the war was ended. Later, other men were to invoke values that outranked obedience to the state, and would let themselves be drawn into other acts of dissidence."

The last third of the book is taken up with the French Army's post-war struggle in Indochina and Algeria, which are set out with considerable detail that has not yet been brought so concretely to the attention of American readers. M. de la Gorce does not hesitate to ascribe de Gaulle's accession to power to pressures brought about by the Army, which he asserts was on the point of forcible intervention if necessary—but in the cause of "French Algeria," which President de Gaulle subsequently felt compelled to abandon. And now what? Algeria is independent, the French Army is once more in France, at home. "Today there are numerous indications that the Army's longest and gravest crisis has come to an end. . . . Now, it may be thought, is a time for meditation, for silent, methodical labor, and during this time wounds can gradually heal as the old dreams fade into oblivion." Our author is not sure this will be so: his hopes of it are expressed with qualifications.

This is a book well worth reading for those who would understand France today and the role which France and her Army may yet play as the curtain rises on the next act of the continuing drama of Europe and the world. Throughout, the author displays understanding and sympathy for the officers and soldiers of whom he writes, and whose trials and sufferings he asks may not be forgotten.

Dare Call It Treason, by Richard M. Watt, is a detailed account of the mutinies in the French Army in 1917—the most carefully researched narrative of these little-known tragedies that has yet been published. The French military authorities were not and are not anxious to have these events recalled to memory, understandably enough. Mr. Watt has done a good job of probing, and his style—somewhat livelier than de la Gorce's—holds the reader's attention. The part played in the mutinies by the two Russian brigades then serving with the French Army is especially notable.

The Duel for France, by Martin Blumenson, deals with the operations under General Eisenhower's command from the break-out of the Allied troops from the Normandy beachhead in June 1944 through the liberation of Paris, and the pursuit of the beaten Germans to their own frontier. Mr. Blumenson, an historian

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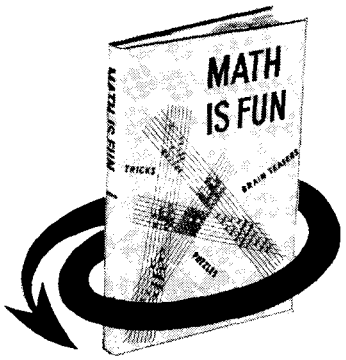

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in the Office of the Chief of Military History, has given us a readable and fast-moving, if at times slightly confused, account of this campaign, with special emphasis on the human characteristics of the principal actors, including corps and division commanders with whom we should all be better acquainted. While this book is not as closely associated with French Army affairs as the other two, the episodes connected with the insistence of the Free French on coming as close as possible to an appearance of having liberated Paris all by themselves are characteristic.

Franny, Zooey, Seymour and Marvin

W. H. VON DREELE

EVER SINCE they made me read *Moby Dick* at that lousy prep school, I've had a thing about whales. I mean they're so goddam *big*. And I got the feeling old Melville really liked whales, too, which is more than you can say for that phony, *Hem*ingway. (Oh, Hemingway liked whales all right—after they'd been *knifed* or *shot* or *kicked* to death by some expatriate American queer.)

Last week when I was having lunch with Marvin I said, "Do you know the whale may become extinct like the Great *Auk*, fer chrissakes?" And when Marvin said, "So?", boy, you can bet I was pretty goddam peeowed. I think this world is run by a *bunch of phonies, too*, but you've got to feel *some*thing. I mean, at some point you've got to be sin*cere*.

"The blue whale's got flippers that would cover my mother's whole lousy *living* room, wall to wall, and we're killing them off. What do you say to *that*, Marvin Glass?"

Marvin just kept eating his sardine sandwich and looking at me kind of funny. "*You're* Glass," he said. "My name's Wolff." He was right, but you get kind of batty in this writing racket, especially with young punks like John Updike breathing down your neck. I guess I should drop Marvin. All he's interested in *any*way is Sal Mineo movies, and this really depresses the hell out of me sometimes.

I told Marvin about the time when I was in the dentist's office and I picked up this square mag called *The Norwegian Whaling Gazette*. It had these *whales* on the cover, see, and I'm *in*terested. It's printed half in Norwegian and half in English. I started reading the Viking bit out loud, real Ingmar Bergman, and some of the creeps sitting around looked at me like I was some kind of nut. "*Her finner vi hanner, hunner og unger her foregar parring og fodsel.*" Crazy stuff like that.

Marvin looked at me kind of funny, too. "For a former Quiz Kid, you're one helluva drag," he said, covering the sardines in his onion roll under a big blob of catsup. "How's Seymour?"

"Seymour's dead," I said. "Didn't you read my piece in the *New Yorker*, Marvin?" (I had already *said* Seymour's dead in a short story, to say nothing of those 25 goddam pages in the *New Yorker*, fer chrissakes.)

"I only look at the cartoons." This made me go cata*tonic* right there in Schrafft's, which didn't bother Marvin, that phony. But I mean, what's a writer gonna *do*? Stanley Edgar Hyman says I should develop more goddam *themes*, and that's easy for *him* to say but I'm *me*, and besides, what would The College Generation say? They treat me like I'm some kind of religious *symbol*, which maybe I should keep pushing if I could just get out of these lousy New England *woods* and back to East 79th Street, but I don't know if I can *stand* New York anymore what with all those goddam minority groups.

Marvin pushed his plate away and wiped his hands on the tablecloth, the *slob*. "Sorry, Buddy, but I can't read your stuff anymore. I get tired of everything important happening in the bathroom."

"Can't read it," I said, going all the way with the Bette Davis pop eyes. "They put me on the cover of *Time* magazine and Marvin Glass says he can't *read* me?"

"*You're* Glass, my name's Wolff," Marvin said, walking out the goddam revolving door. Which is why I'm on whales now. I figure they're a good change of *pace*. If Rachel Carson can make people worry about the health of those nutty *robins*, I'm gonna make people *sick* over *whales*.

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE READER'S ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, by Max J. Herzberg (Crowell, $12.95). The new *Encyclopedia of American Literature* is fascinating in two respects: for what's *not* in it, and for its careful adherence to political liberalism. For obvious reasons one is bound to the other. You can find all the "good guys" like Stevenson, Adlai E(wing); Bunche, Ralph J(ohnson); Mills, C(harles) Wright; Schlesinger, Arthur M(eier) in the *R.E.A.L.*, and of course there's Kennedy, John F(itzgerald). Nixon? Who's he? And James Burnham presumably has never written a single book. But conservatives are not dismissed entirely from the bulky volume. William Buckley is listed under *McCarthyism*. Book titles? Thousands! Everything from *Mamba's Daughters* to *Crisis of the Old Order*, but you can't find *The Conscience of a Conservative*. If, however, you've forgotten that "K-K-K-Katy" was a song popular in World War I you can look it up here. Perhaps one should be grateful for the sheer number of references. Where else could you find such complete information on Robert Hare, inventor of the oxyhydrogen blowpipe?

J. BOLAND

FULL CIRCLE, by Grace Lumpkin (Western Islands, $4.00). In her fascinating new novel *Full Circle*, Grace Lumpkin introduces us to a number of Communists and tries to explain how they were drawn into the Party. Her protagonists are a divorced woman and her teen-age daughter who live in a small Southern town and are brought to the attention of the Party through their vociferous support of two young Negroes unjustly accused of rape. Daughter Arnie one night brings home from the trial two Northern reporters and a newspaper cartoonist, all secret Party members, and they proceed to woo her away from her conventional Protestant upbringing. (Arnie celebrates her emancipation from bourgeois morality by taking on all three as lovers; her mother makes the transition rather more slowly and

Speaking Up . . .

Thomas Molnar, presently a professor of French Literature at Brooklyn College, is the holder of graduate degrees in Philosophy and French Literature, and the author of *The Two Faces of American Foreign Policy*. Dr. Molnar will accept invitations now to lecture around the country next fall.

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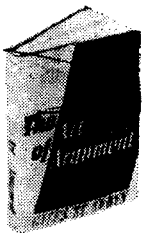

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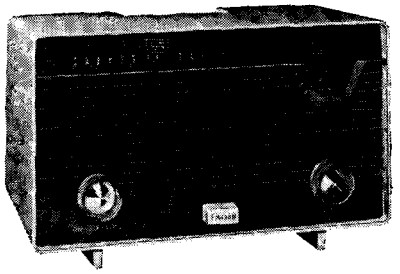

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less passionately.) The two women move to New York where in due course they become members of the Party and the center of a Lower East Side Party cell. As Arnie gets deeper into the inner councils of the Movement, as they refer to it, she is able to accept not only as right but as desirable all Party dictates, up to and including political assassination. The Party can do no wrong. But when the Negro writer she is living with turns on her in an intramural power struggle and accuses both Arnie and her mother of "racial chauvinism," and Arnie is thrown out of the Party, her mind cracks and she goes into a cataleptic trance. The resolution of the novel—which is a trifle pat—details how Arnie is brought back to reality and conscious existence through confrontation with those very bourgeois virtues she had rejected as a Communist. What Frank Meyer described so vividly in *The Moulding of Communists*, Mrs. Lumpkin does here in fictionalized form. *Full Circle* is not only an engrossing novel, it is an important treatment of an important subject.

P. L. BUCKLEY

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY, by John E. Smith (Oxford, $5.00). This book underlines the dictum of William James that "philosophy is neither a luxury for those with leisure nor a learned ornament of scholars; it is for men in every walk of life and the ultimate guide of human conduct." Professor Smith, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Yale, has undertaken the very difficult task of interpreting American philosophy with a study of five representative thinkers, C. S. Peirce, William James, Josiah Royce, John Dewey and A. N. Whitehead. For though these key thinkers set the tone of the golden age of American philosophy, still no one school of thought, no one thinker spoke for America. We can say of it what Romain Rolland said of European culture: it has no one act of faith, no single book or poem common to all. Professor Smith's book should be required reading in any course in modern philosophy, and adds much to understanding our present relation to British philosophy.

B. MOLLENHAUER

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To the Editor

The Raters

Donald Coxe provides a valuable corrective to the ambiguities in the present congressional rating systems [July 2]. Would *NR* consider running a scorecard of senators and congressmen, as seen under the pitiless rays of the Coxe System? Or a pamphlet setting them forth? It's cruel to leave us, and the system, hanging.

I hope Mr. Coxe will revise one of his norms and count pairs as votes; and, for that matter, also count "announced for" and "announced against." We are, after all, interested in what a man stands for. Better to let us know than to deny him the credit, or spare him the blame, simply because he missed a day when he was down with the virus, or attending his daughter's wedding.

Pelham Manor, N.Y. NEIL MCCAFFREY

Cardinal Mindszenty

The June 18 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW with the article on Cardinal Mindszenty by Alice Leone-Moats was truly splendid. The article was one of the most moving on the courageous Hungarian prelate that I have read.

Bristol, Conn. JAMES D. MADDEN

7277

Your editorial entitled "7277" leaves your reader with the impression that our State Department policy on disarmament is fuzzy but not dangerous. ("It is not, however, engaged in the business of selling out U.S. sovereignty.") NATIONAL REVIEW has been so penetrating on the role of UN abuse of authority, that it should not so discount the danger of our present policy which calls for a merger of our system with the system of our enemies to accomplish what U Thant calls the grand "synthesis." In the resulting consensus the U.S. would have one vote out of 126. Does NATIONAL REVIEW honestly believe that U Thant, with his troika of assistants (Suslov, Bunche and Narasimham), with an all-powerful world army—we would be allowed only such arms as would be needed for "internal policing"—and a World Court that would reflect UN political power, would respect U.S. sovereignty?

Point Pleasant Beach, N.J. ROBERT MORRIS

Of course not. Nor do ten members of the United States Senate. Nor do the Kennedys (does anyone suppose the Irish Mafia is willingly going to turn its power over to the UN? Or to anybody else?) — notwithstanding the Clouds 9 that are always floating up from Presidential peace-pipes. World Government dreamers, granted, are always with us, and always infest those nubile agencies for the propagation of nonsense — like the Arms Control & Disarmament Agency. But —the only thing NR *is maintaining— they are not dangerous so long as the country continues to be alert to the necessity for maintaining its independence. There was more World Government in the air twenty years ago than today—thanks in part to the fine efforts of Judge Morris, friend of liberty and of* NR. —ED.

Clay Pigeon

Is there any truth to the incredible rumor I have heard that former Congressman Hamilton Fish is supporting Cassius Clay for the Presidency in 1964?

Los Angeles, Calif. R. J. ARBUCKLE

No; Mr. Fish is supporting General Lucius *Clay.* —ED.

Distressed Area

Thank you for the book review in which you call attention to Cecil Woodham-Smith's book on the potato famine in Ireland [June 18]. Now there was an outstanding case of good conservative government! The central government respected the rights of local people to work out their problems on the local level. If there had been more in the way of handouts from the bureaucrats in London, it probably would have made the Irish even less self-sufficient and interfered with the economics of the free market. So much wiser to leave matters to private charity.

Anyhow, aid to Ireland might have unbalanced the budget. The ADA of the time would have pushed for government-subsidized funerals, even.

Swarthmore, Pa. JEROME SHAFFER

Tocsin's *Knell*

In connection with the article about *Tocsin* [May 21] and the John Birch Society, I would like to point out that Robert Welch recommended *Tocsin* in the Society Bulletin. I became a subscriber to *Tocsin* because of this recommendation.

Woodland Hills, Calif. JAMES L. PASTMA

Baldwin and Friends

It would appear that Garry Wills [May 27] is something of another defender of James Baldwin; Wills assuredly is not a refuter of what Baldwin says.

Eugene, Ore. JIM MCNABB

Garry Wills deplores James Baldwin's apparent willingness to scuttle the Constitution (and everything good about American civilization for which the Constitution stands). But he misses the point, which is that American Negroes do not enjoy the benefits of our Constitution. If they did they

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might be reading NATIONAL REVIEW instead of marching in the streets.

Whites read the words of the Constitution; Negroes smell the practice of it: the stench of uncollected garbage from their Harlem alley or the dust from the unpaved streets of their Southern Niggertowns. They see, hear, and feel the practice of the Constitution in every aspect of their lives, lives which they know are going to be perpetuated in their segregated, under-employed children and their children's children unless they win radical changes in their lifetime.

Let me emphasize that I am not saying that civil rights are more important than the Constitution (as if they were in conflict!). NATIONAL REVIEW is absolutely right in hammering at the importance of preserving the Constitution through the current crisis over civil rights. Negroes in America have, it is true, more opportunity than anyone—white or black—has in most of the other countries of the world. But NATIONAL REVIEW is missing the point when it seems to think that the slogan "It could be worse" is any comfort to American Negroes.

Durham, N.C. EDWARD OPTON JR.

Debate Continued

Mr. Protter [June 4] states that there were administrative internment camps in France. If he had read my statement he would have found that I never denied their existence in the past. Mr. Protter obviously overlooks the criminal terror of the OAS in France, children maimed by bombs, innocent passers-by blown to pieces, buildings demolished. Under such conditions it was the right, nay, the duty of the government to protect its citizens by extraordinary measures. The best proof of the government's lawful attitude is shown by the fact that these camps where closed as soon as the criminal conspiracy had been smashed.

I totally challenge the statement that a camp in Southern France, after having been closed, has been reopened. This is simply not true.

Mr. Protter asserts that in France 11,000 people have been judged or are awaiting judgment for politically motivated crimes. He obviously considers the blinding of children or indiscriminate bombing a "politically motivated" crime. I do not—it is a crime, period. Beside the number of 11,000—even if we accept his exten-

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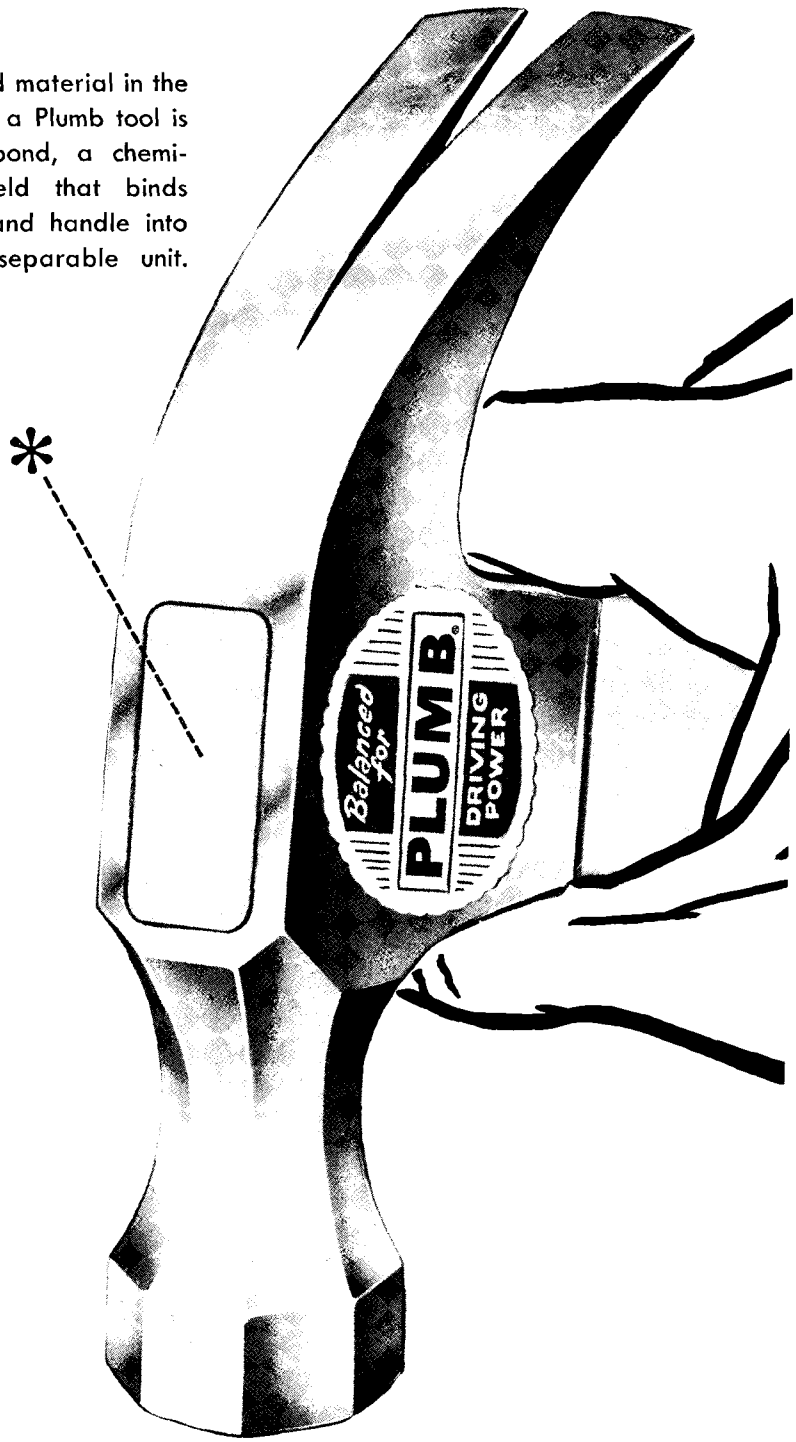

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The other (threat) is the excessive, unrestrained, and dangerous powers that now are reposed in the irresponsible leadership of some labor unions."

Senator John L. McClellan
Chairman, Senate Investigations Subcommittee

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sive interpretation of the word "political"—is grossly exaggerated.

Mr. Protter's point about Communists in the National Assembly administration is of course true so far as there are Communist deputies left. But in the National Assembly does not lie the danger; I want to re-emphasize: Moscow's men are in no sensitive position of political, executive or economic power.

Mr. Protter speaks about my "misinformations" as if they had come from the French Minister of Information himself. The latter, Monsieur Alain Peyrefitte, is a long-standing friend of mine, with whom I have worked for over ten years in movements for the European unification. I know him to be an absolutely honorable Christian gentleman. I may add that in gathering my facts I have never been in touch with him nor talked with him on the subject; they are freely available to every objective observer.

Starnberg, Germany OTTO VON HABSBURG

SAVING OUR CHILDREN

(Continued from p. 22)

ciples announced in those cases, and, because of the myth, find their indignant protests treated as "academic exercises."

A new amendment to the Constitution to answer the school prayer decision? I think that remedy misses the point. There are a number of objections to the amendment solution, but the critical one is that it does not meet the great public evil that increasingly sits astride our affairs: the Supreme Court's assumed power to turn the Constitution upside down, and then demand the acquiescence not only of private citizens, but of all public authorities. Recourse to an amendment, by implication, confirms the power and encourages perpetuation of the evil.

Let the Congress, rather, employ the simple expedient of a Resolution affirming its own understanding of the Establishment Clause, and encouraging states that share its views to deal with religion thenceforth in accordance with that understanding. The Congress and the states on one side, in other words; the Court and—for a while probably—the Executive on the other. The confrontation would not have seemed strange to the authors of the *Federalist*. Does anyone doubt who would win?

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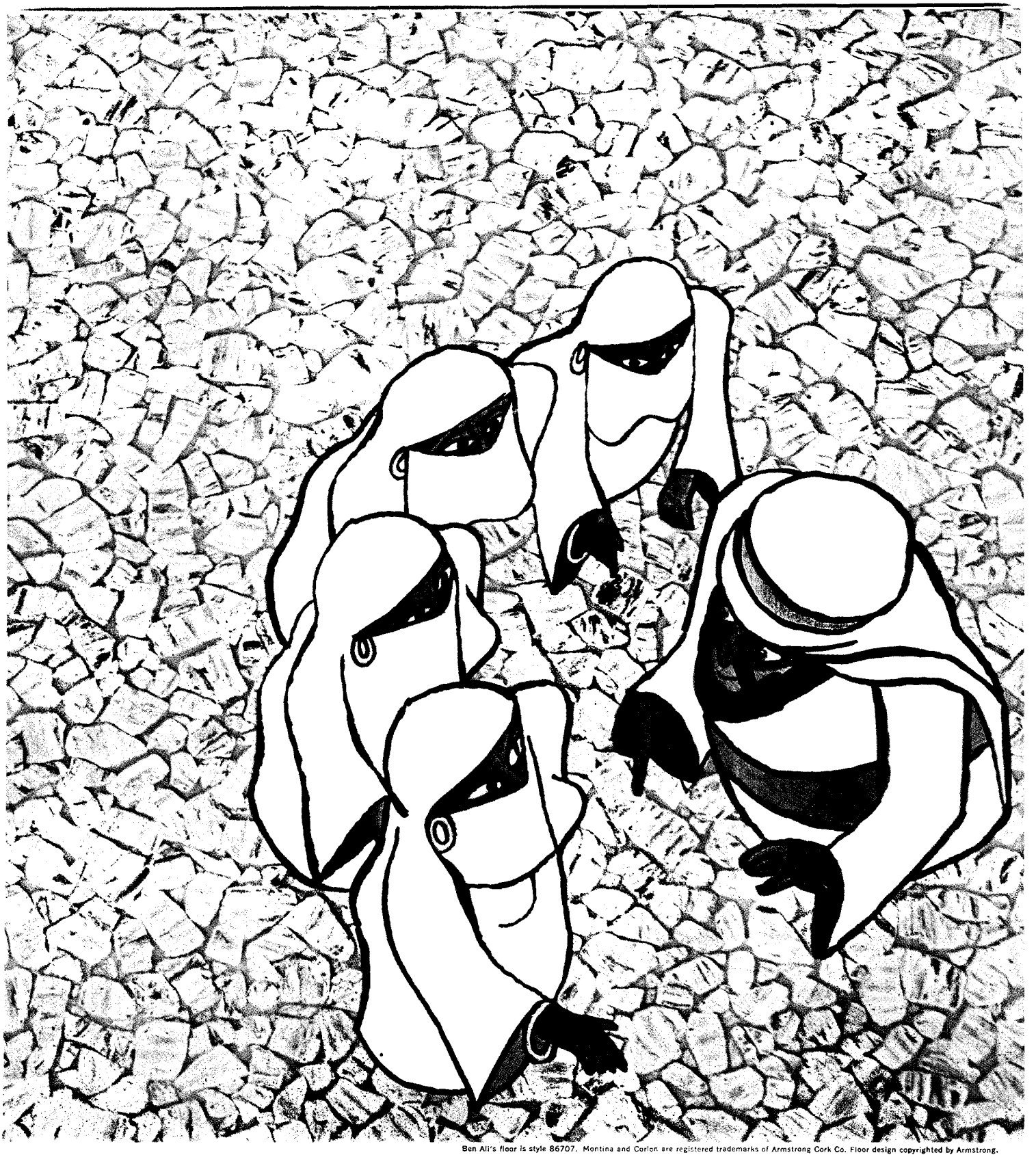

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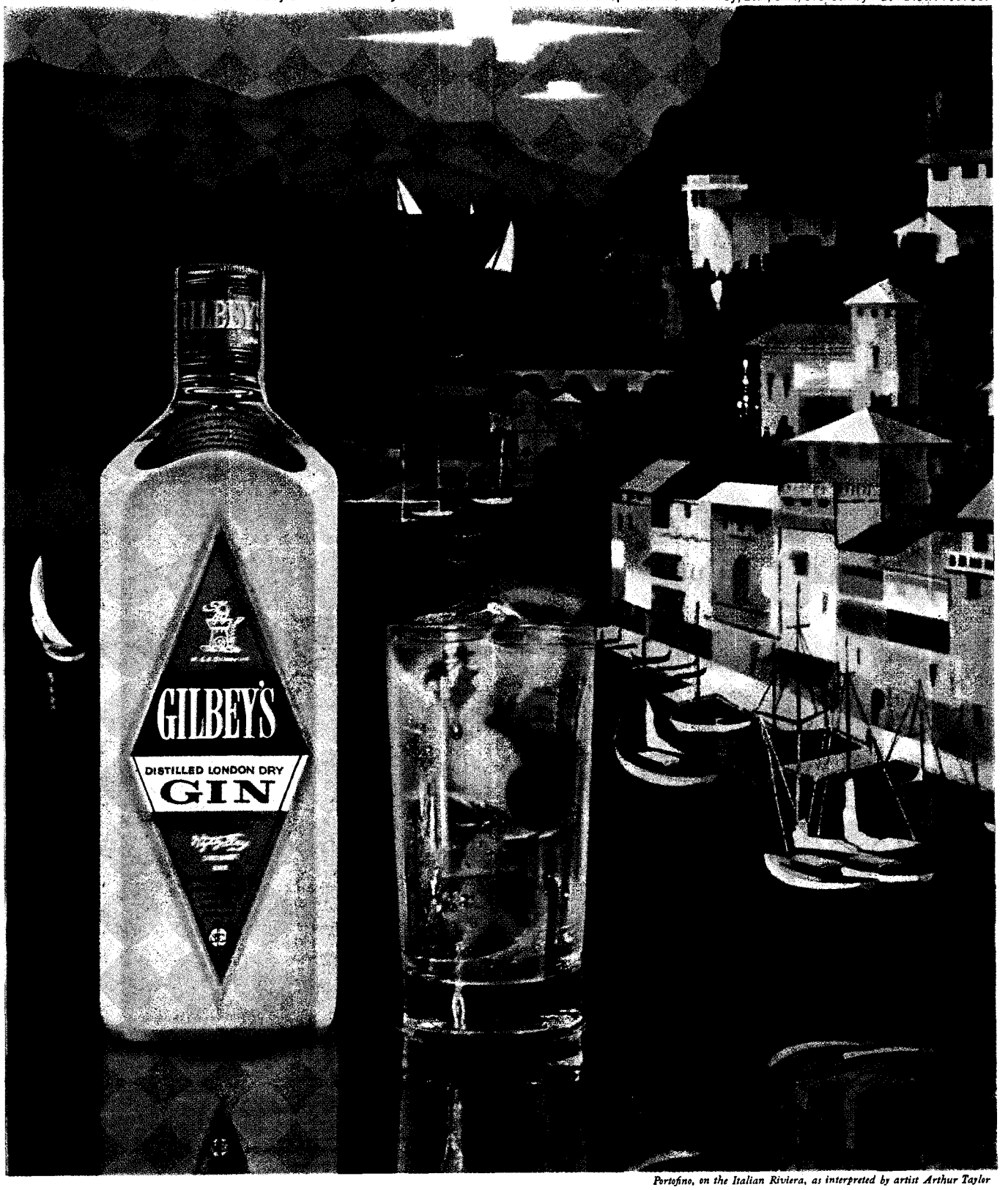

Portofino, on the Italian Riviera, as interpreted by artist Arthur Taylor

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